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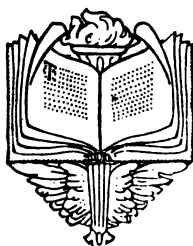
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W. H. Jones.
a J. H.

Reading time 10/54

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P R E F A C E.

I HAVE herein attempted to give an account of the life of our venerable teacher and guide, Rev. Hosea Ballou. Many circumstances have concurred to prompt me to this undertaking. He was my friend, my spiritual father. He was the means of bringing me into the ministry of the Lord Jesus Christ. Had it not been for the acquaintance I formed with him in my early manhood, I know not what would have been the course of my life. I always revered him for his goodness. He was not perfect, for no man is strictly so; but he was one of the best men I ever knew. He was distinguished for his meekness, quietness, pity, sympathy, tenderness; he was loving, faithful, discreet, honest, pure-hearted; in fine, many good qualities united in him. His life was a Christian life, in the eminent sense of those terms; it was a useful life; and to give a faithful biography of a man, is to cause him almost to live his life over again, for the benefit of others. It would be presumption in me to suppose that I can write a perfect biography of Father Ballou; but I will add my mite to the efforts which will be made, and which ought to be made, to send down to future generations a knowledge of the man. Not only should his labors be remembered, but his precepts, doctrines and examples, also. His works will follow him.

It has seemed to me that I have had many advantages for becoming acquainted with his life, labors and opinions. I became

a member of his congregation shortly after his settlement at Boston, and subsequently I was an inmate of his family. On leaving him, I had a residence of one year in Milford, Massachusetts, after which I removed to Cambridge, and lived in his vicinity all the rest of his life. For six years I was associated with him in conducting the *Universalist Magazine*. I was with him "in journeyings often," for more than thirty years; and when he was, at home, I continually had opportunities of meeting him. In these interviews, I have frequently conversed with him in regard to that part of his life which had passed before I knew him; and it was my constant custom to make a record of any facts I learned from him appertaining to his biography. The same is true also of his amiable consort, whose confidence I trust I shared, and who was always free to communicate to me any information I asked. Moreover, for the thirty years before his death, it was my custom to read all he published; and as, both in the *Universalist Magazine*, and afterwards in the *Trumpet*, he would sometimes give hints concerning his early history, drawn out by the deaths of old friends, or some other circumstance, I was careful to take note of all, and preserve all for future reference.

But, if I have enjoyed some advantages for preparing a Biography of Father Ballou, I have also labored under many disadvantages. I had no autobiography of him to aid me, nor copies of his letters. He was a man who wrote but little about himself. Sometimes, in writing the life of an individual, the biographer will have the use of copies of all letters that said individual had written or received; sometimes a private diary is found, which is of vast assistance to a biographer; but I have never learned that it was Mr. Ballou's custom to preserve copies of his letters, or to keep a diary of his life. It is also proper to remark that he was not accustomed to talk much about himself. He would answer questions when put to him, but he never was forward in conversations of that kind; and, when he did speak of himself, it was very frequently in a strain of self-abasement, as if there was very little in his life worthy to be remembered. "I hope," he would say, "none will attempt, when I am dead, to magnify my deeds. Let no one seek to make it appear that I

have done some great thing." "When we have done all those things which are commanded," he would add, "we are unprofitable servants." He had a great distaste for that kind of biographical writing which makes of every man a hero, and of every act a marvel. He doubtless supposed that some history of himself might be published after his death; and he felt desirous that there should be nothing overrated, — that every fact should be correctly stated, and have no more than a just value placed upon it.

If it were possible that the subject of this Memoir could read it, with the same views and feelings that he had when he was on earth, I am not sure that he would approve of it. For, although I am not conscious of having misstated a single fact, yet his life to me appeared so different from what it was as he viewed it, it is possible he might think I have magnified his good qualities and the effect of his labors. Yet I am not conscious of having done so. I certainly believe there is no necessity that any one should do so. The truth is sufficient; and the truth only have I endeavored to tell. My wish is, so far as I am able, to give a faithful biography of this old soldier of the cross; for in that character we all looked upon him for the last twenty years of his life. I have desired to trace, not only the humble family from which he descended; the disadvantages of his early days; his religious education, under the influence of his pious father; his conversion to Christ, and his union with the Baptist church; the subsequent workings of his mind on the subject of religion; the study of the Scriptures; the increase of light; the conversion to Universalism; the commencement to preach the gospel, with fear and trembling; his early labors as a preacher; his pastoral labors; his journeyings; his writings, &c. &c., — I have desired to trace not only these things, but to describe the goodness of his heart, and the peculiarities of his mind. But in these last points I fear I may fail. As I said on another occasion: "There remains yet to be described (but it cannot be done here) the child-like simplicity of the man, — his benevolence, his blindness to the faults of others, his open eye to their virtues, his strong sense of rectitude, his remarkable and long-continued habits of justice, his wonderful

mind, — so clear, so strong to the last, — his eagle-eyed sagacity, his strong faith in God and his word, — a faith like a mountain for its towering height and firmness, — his devotion to the truth, his love of the work of the ministry, his truly religious character, his susceptibility to deep devotional feeling, his love of conventions and associations for the seasons of public worship they gave him so many opportunities to enjoy, his love of conference meetings, his power over the people, his closing sermons at conventions, his prayers at the separation, — when all, old and young, male and female, clergy and laity, would be melted into tears. Ah! who shall attempt to describe all these things?"

I will endeavor to do what I can. Sincerely do I hope that no one will take up this work expecting to find a perfect one. It is almost impossible to meet every one's expectation. If this work be compared with the ideal biography of Father Ballou which almost every one who has known him has conceived, it will fall far short of it. I have not even dared to hope to reach my own idea. I will come as near to it as I can, and those who come after me must supply my deficiencies. My effort will not prevent others. In one sense, I have written to please nobody; in another, I have written to please everybody. I have sought to give the truth, and have hoped that all would be pleased to see it. It may be thought that certain parts of the work are too doctrinal and argumentative. To me it seems necessary that there should be a biography of Hosea Ballou which will embody his system of doctrine, and show in some measure the arguments and illustrations by which he was accustomed to explain and defend it. In attempting to carry out that plan, the work must of course be somewhat theological.

I have wished to write this biography as a means of good. The subject of it was worthy, and more than worthy, of any good thing which I can say; but that is not the reason why I write. He needs no eulogy from me. His works, his deeds, are his monument and epitaph. My desire is to write the life of a good man, that others may be induced to follow his example, and that they may feel the influence of his thoughts. It is probable that, sooner or later, there may be several memoirs of Father Ballou. They

will all conduce, we trust, to the effect we have described. The memoir by Mr. Maturin M. Ballou, the youngest son of the patriarch, has done much to accomplish the purpose. It has been received with high favor by the public. The author of that work and myself have the one object, namely, to show the character and works of his distinguished father. Others may write; I wish them all God-speed in any efforts they may make to illustrate the life and doctrines of the man. Each may strike out a somewhat different path, and all, we trust, will do good. No one memoir will please equally all readers, though each one perhaps will have excellences.

This biography will be seen to be arranged chronologically. I wish to pass Father Ballou's life, in a regular series of events, before the reader, with every part in its proper place, according to the order of time. This is giving the life as it actually transpired. It has seemed to me proper, also, to connect the biography of Father Ballou with brief accounts of his seniors and contemporaries in the ministry. These are not only valuable in themselves, as appertaining to the remembrance of those men, but they serve to show how he ranked with them, as well as how they regarded him, and the influence he exerted over them. In respect to the history of Universalism in New England during his life, the one is very closely interwoven with the other, and I felt it necessary so to treat them. The fact that for nearly fifty years he attended, without a single omission, the annual meetings of the General Convention of Universalists, made it necessary for me to keep up a chain of facts in regard to that body. This work will contain the fullest history of it which has ever yet been published. And here it devolves on me to acknowledge my obligations to Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, whose "Memoirs" furnish reminiscences concerning some of the earlier meetings of the Convention. This memoir of the venerable Stacy is very valuable, especially as it respects the early history of Universalism in New England and New York. I have no desire to impede the sale of it; I rather hope that the quotations I have given will lead many to seek for the whole work. It was necessary that I should incorporate the facts to which I have referred into this book; and I could obtain

his eagle-eyed sagacity, his faith like a mountain, his devotion to the truth, his truly religious character, his love of conventional public worship they gave him a strong repugnance to any, his love of conference meetings, his stirring sermons at conventions, his ready and eloquent answers to the old and young, male and female, who were united into tears. Ah! what a life! what a life!

I will endeavor to do what I can. Sincerely do I hope that no one will take up this work expecting to find a perfect one. It is almost impossible to meet every one's expectation. If this work be compared with the ideal biography of Father Ballou which almost every one who has known him has conceived, it will fall far short of it. I have not even dared to hope to reach my own ideal. I will come as near to it as I can, and those who come after me must supply my deficiencies. My effort will not prevent others. In one sense, I have written to please nobody; in another, I have written to please everybody. I have sought to give the truth and have hoped that all would be pleased to see it. It may be thought that certain parts of the work are too historical and argumentative. To me it seems necessary that there should be a biography of Hiram Ballou which will embody his opinions & doctrines, and show in some measure the arguments and illustrations by which he was accustomed to explain and defend it. It was my duty to carry out that plan, the work of others is somewhat theological.

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the subject of it was worthy, and more the
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them nowhere else. It was unavoidable therefore that I should quote them from the "Memoir," and give the venerable author credit for them. I cordially recommend his book to the public.

I now commit this first volume to the judgment of the public, hoping that I have done my duty faithfully in preparing it, and that it will subserve the interest of truth and of pure religion, and be an acceptable offering to those who knew the distinguished subject of the Memoir.

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LIFE

OF

REV. HOSEA BALLOU.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION I.—GENERAL SKETCH.

THE name of Hosea Ballou is very widely known. For many years he preached the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Brought to the knowledge of the truth in early manhood, he consecrated all the powers he possessed, through a long, eventful and laborious life, to its diffusion among men. His soul was passive to its influences. He knew no other will but the will of his divine Master. He was the son of a clergyman; and was brought up to respect and love religion from his earliest days. Following sincerely the dictates of his conscience, he united himself at first to the Baptist church, of which his amiable and excellent father had been the pastor; but, as he advanced in the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, and reasoned more closely on divine things, his

mind was brought to see the divine benevolence far more clearly than at first; and he received, from the fullest conviction of his understanding, the great, the glorious, the godlike doctrine, of the final holiness and happiness of all mankind, — a doctrine which many of the wisest and best men who have ever lived, both in ancient and modern times, have loved and defended. This was the distinguishing doctrine of Mr. Ballou for more than threescore years. He received it conscientiously at first, and he defended it unfalteringly to the last. He rose, not by any efforts directed to that end, but by the force of his own talents and the faithfulness with which he served the cause he had espoused, to the head of that class of Christians to which he belonged, where he stood for a long series of years. The life of such a man must be full of interest. His biography, if faithfully written, must be valuable, not only as a contribution to the ecclesiastical history of our country, but as a model of what a self-educated man may make himself, by integrity, by love of truth, and by a conscientious and life-long devotion to a single object.

SECTION II. — HIS EARLIEST ANCESTOR IN AMERICA.

We shall not undertake to seek out the history of the family of Ballou beyond the limits of our own country. Whether those who introduced the name into America came from England or from the continent of Europe, we cannot say, nor is it essential to our purpose to know. There is a tradition that it is of French origin, and that the earliest member of the family who came to our shores sailed hitherward from some part of the continent, to

which his parents had been driven by the persecution against the Huguenots. This, however, must be received as tradition merely. But it is probable that Maturin Ballou, the father of the great-grandfather of the subject of this notice, had arrived in America as early as 1646, and perhaps some years earlier. Roger Williams was driven from the colony of the Massachusetts Bay in 1636. Whether Maturin Ballou had been previously in Massachusetts, and followed the fortunes of the persecuted Williams to the Rhode Island plantations, or whether he came over at a later day, and chose Rhode Island for his abiding-place on account of the religious liberty which was there enjoyed, or whether for some other reason he settled there, it is not possible now to know. Suffice it to say, he was probably in Providence in 1646. He was admitted an inhabitant about that time. "Besides those," says Staples, "who, in the words of the original deed, were admitted to 'equal fellowship of vote' with the first purchasers, other individuals were received as townsmen, having no interest in the lands, and some, too, as twenty-five acre or quarter-right purchasers. The latter class, in every division of land, received one-quarter part as much as a full purchaser. The whole number of purchasers of both kinds never exceeded one hundred and one persons. They were admitted such at various times and on various terms; but it cannot be ascertained when the last of that number was admitted. Some individuals were received as inhabitants on the conditions contained in the following agreement :

" *The 19th of 11th month 1645 (being Jan. 19, 1646).*

" We whose names are hereafter subscribed, having obtained a free grant of twenty-five acres of land apiece, with the right of communing according to the said proportion of lands, from the free inhabitants of this town of Providence, do thankfully accept of the same, and do hereby promise to yield active or passive obedience to the authority of the king and parliament of the state of England, established in this colony, according to our charter, and to all such wholesome laws and orders that are or shall be made by the major consent of the town of Providence, as also, not to claim any right to the purchase of the said plantations, nor any privilege of vote in town affairs, until we shall be received as freemen of the said town of Providence."

This document bears the names of twenty-eight persons, the ninth of whom is MATURIN BALLOU.* Mr. Staples remarks, "that the appearance of the signatures to the original document indicates that they were not made at the same time. The alteration in the agreement itself, as noted in the margin of it, was undoubt-

* The names of the signers are as follows :

John Brown.	Lawrence ✕ Wilkinson.	Edward Smith.
Pardon Tillinghast.	Daniel ✕ Comstock.	John Fenner.
John ✕ Jones.	Benjamin ✕ Smith.	John Sayles.
Thomas ✕ Clemence.	John Smith.	Stephen Northup.
William Fenner.	John ✕ Clawson.	Daniel Brown.
George Sheppard.	Thomas ✕ Sucklin.	Eperetus Olney.
Robert ✕ Potter.	Benjamin ✕ Herrendren.	John Stone.
Robert Pyke.	Edward Inman.	George Way.
Maturin Ballou.	Henry Reddock.	
Thomas ✕ Walrom.	Samuel Bennett.	

In this list will be found the names of some of the present most numerous and most distinguished families in Rhode Island. See Staples' *Annals of the Town of Providence, from its First Settlement to the Organization of the City Government, in June, 1832.* By Wm. R. Staples. Providence : 1843 ; 8vo. pp. 670. The extracts we have made may be found on pp. 60, 61.

edly made after the establishment of the commonwealth of England."

SECTION III. — THE GENEALOGY STILL FURTHER
TRACED.

Maturin Ballou (1), whom we have named, had five sons and one daughter, namely, JOHN (2), Peter (3), James (4), Nathaniel, Samuel, and Hannah. Of these, John, Peter and James, lived to raise up families; the other two sons died when young. JOHN (2), who married Hannah Jaret, raised a family of three sons and three daughters, namely, JOHN (5), MATURIN (6), PETER (7), Sarah, Hannah, and Abigail. The family of Peter (3) consisted of Peter, William, Jeremiah, and Barbara, Phoebe, Jemima, and Martha. James (4) had James, Nathaniel, Obadiah, Samuel, Nehemiah, Susanah and Bashabe.

Hosea, whose history we write, descended from the first-named of Maturin's sons, namely, JOHN (2); and he, we have said, had three sons, John (5), Maturin (6), and Peter (7). Let us now look at the families that sprung from the three sons above named of John Ballou (2). John (5), who married Naomi Emmond, had four sons and three daughters, namely, John, Abraham, David, Peter and Mary, Tabitha and Sarah. Maturin (6), who married Mary Cooper, had two sons, William and Maturin. PETER (7), the grandson of Maturin, and the grandfather of the subject of this biography, was born Aug. 1, 1689. He married Rebecca Estan, from whom were born MATURIN, the father of Hosea, with one other son, Peter, and nine daughters,

namely, Rebecca, Sarah, Mary, Hannah, Abigail, Amey, Elizabeth, Hopestill, Mercy. PETER (7) died May 9, 1784, at the age of ninety-four, and Rebecca his wife died Feb. 13, 1787, in her ninety-first year.

SECTION IV.—HIS FATHER.

We now come to Maturin, the father of Hosea. He was born in Providence on Tuesday, Oct. 30, 1722. He continued to reside in Rhode Island for some forty-three or four years, where, we suppose, the families we have described principally remained. Little is known of his early life. He married, when at the age of twenty-two, Lydia Harris, daughter of Richard Harris, who was the mother of the subject of this biography. His earliest settlement, in the married state, was at Smithfield, R. I., and here his first four children were born, namely, Mary, on Oct. 30, 1745; Benjamin, on Nov. 8, 1747; Amey, on June 6, 1750; and Lydia, on Oct. 21, 1752. From this place he removed to Pawtucket, R. I., where two sons were born: Maturin, on July 8, 1755, and David, on Sept. 15, 1758. Shortly after the birth of the last-named, the family removed to Scituate, R. I., and settled in that part of the town now known as Foster, where Nathan was born, on Sept. 9, 1760; Sarah, on May 4, 1763; and Phœbe, on May 24, 1765. A short time after the last date, the family removed to Richmond, N. H., then almost a wilderness, where the two children yet to be named were born; namely, Stephen, on Sept. 6, 1768, and HOSEA, on April 30, 1771.

When Hosea was about two years old, his amiable and excellent mother died ; so that it was not possible for him to have any recollection of her, but her character was embalmed in his memory by the descriptions he early received. Maturin, the father of Hosea, although for many years a Baptist clergyman, probably did not receive a regular education for the ministry. Few Baptist clergymen did, in that day. And what opportunity had he for such a purpose ? He had a family to maintain, before the intention to preach was formed. We are not able to state at what particular time his attention was so powerfully called to the subject of religion as to induce him to offer himself a candidate for baptism ; but he commenced to preach while residing in Smithfield, in 1752, at the age of thirty. He preached in Pawtucket and Scituate, where we have said he had his residence ; and, at length, either in 1767 or 1768, he removed to Richmond. He was one of the first to bear the sentiments of the Baptists into New Hampshire. Richmond had been settled by a few families of emigrants from Massachusetts and Rhode Island, about 1757 ; and among others who had there invaded the wilderness, were Anthony and Uriah Harris, brothers of Maturin Ballou's wife. She also had two sisters there, Mrs. Sweet and Mrs. Phillips. It is probable that Maturin and wife went up to visit their relations, and were induced to remove there and commence the establishment of a Baptist church. This church was formed in 1768 ; and Mr. Ballou was ordained as pastor in 1770.*

* See Farmer's *New Hampshire Gazetteer*, Art. "Richmond."

"About the year 1770, and during a few succeeding years," says Benedict, the historian of the Baptists, "a considerable number of Baptist brethren, and some ministers of the denomination, removed from different parts of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and some from other parts, and settled along the western line of New Hampshire, in the counties of Cheshire and Grafton, on and at no great distance from Connecticut river, which divides this state from Vermont. Some of the ministers who settled in this region were Maturin Ballou, Ebenezer Bailey, Jedediah Hibbard, Eleazar Beckwith, Thomas Baldwin, now of Boston, Isaac Kenney, &c. The oldest churches along or near the river are those of Richmond, Westmoreland, Marlow and Newport."*

From the above we should infer that the church in Richmond, probably founded by the labors of Mr. Ballou, was one of the earliest Baptist churches in New Hampshire. Mr. Benedict says, in another place, "But one church was formed in New Hampshire, previous to the year 1770; that was the one at Newtown, which was gathered in 1755. From 1770 to 1779, nine other churches were planted. From this period they began to increase with great rapidity, so that nine more were established in the year 1780."† If there was but one Baptist church in New Hampshire previously to 1770, and that one was at Newtown, then the church in Richmond, formed in 1770, must have been the second church of that faith in the state. It is no exaggeration, then, to

* See a General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, &c., by David Benedict, A. M., Boston, 1813, vol. 1. p. 325.

† Ibid. 315.

say that Maturin Ballou was one of the earliest Baptist preachers there. He lifted up the standard of that sect when there were but few to help him.

Rev. Maturin Ballou was a man of highly exemplary character for integrity, benevolence and piety. He sought diligently to discharge his duties to God and to man, and endeavored to bear about with him the remembrance that he was an ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ. He was a pious Calvinist; but yet, in spite of the awful doctrines of his creed, he had moments of pleasantries, and would relate an anecdote, or enjoy the relation of one, with much zest. Still, after an indulgence of this kind, he would sometimes heave a sigh, as if he almost feared it was a sin to be merry. In his manners he was a gentleman,—a perfect gentleman, when compared with the society in which he moved. For a dozen or fifteen years before he died, he had ceased to be pastor of the church in Richmond. Some cause of division sprung up, and a second Baptist church was formed; but the character of Mr. Ballou was above all suspicion, and was no part of the cause of the separation. It is probable that the people divided on the subject of the Calvinistic decrees, upon the one hand, and free will upon the other. He continued to reside in Richmond, preaching in the neighboring towns, maintaining his connection with the Baptist denomination, and evincing a deep interest in its welfare and in the conversion of sinners, until, at the age of fourscore, he felt himself admonished to abstain from his public labors; and after a serene quiet of two years, he yielded up his spirit to the God who gave it, in the year 1804, at the

age of eighty-two. He had heard his son Hosea preach frequently, sometimes in the old Baptist pulpit at Richmond (for Hosea, although a Universalist, was admitted there), and sometimes in other places. When listening, tears were seen to run down his furrowed cheeks, and he would express his admiration of his son's sagacity and logical powers. Towards the close of his life his sentiments were thought to be much modified; but he made no profession of a change of opinion, and died in the communion of a Baptist church. The son invariably spoke of the father with affectionate respect. He had reason to love him; for the deportment of the parent to the child was always tender. Though differing in faith and profession, they treated each other as servants of the Lord Jesus Christ. None of the anecdotes were true in which the father was represented as making his son's visits to his house unpleasant by his hostility to the son's doctrine. The father had the disposition of a Christian and a gentleman; and he had too much dignity in his own nature, too much good sense, too much affection for his children, to embitter his intercourse with them by any petty tricks of bigotry. As a preacher the father was not eminent. He was to be valued more for his sound sense, for the solid qualities of a clergyman, than for a winning or exciting manner of speech. He was what the world would call a good rather than a great preacher, calculated to instruct, more than to arouse.

His sons, Benjamin and Maturin, of whom we shall speak more fully in another place, both preached as Baptists, the latter much more than the former. Maturin, the son, held a higher rank, as a speaker, than the

father. He was fervid, earnest; and being also a good man, his labors were likely to draw more hearers than those of the father.*

The personal appearance of the father was not greatly unlike that of the son in the decline of his days. He was tall, erect, the muscles had a good covering, but there was not a great tendency to obesity.

SECTION V. — HIS BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

Hosea, being the youngest of the eleven children, we shall introduce in this place a slight account of his brothers and sisters. The oldest sister, Mary, became the wife of Mr. David Bulloch, and died in —, leaving two sons.

Benjamin, the oldest brother, was the father of nine children, of whom the first-born was Asahel, the father of Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D. It will thus be seen that our distinguished preacher and author, whom we have here named, was a grandson of the oldest brother of Rev. Hosea Ballou. Benjamin was a man of good sense, but not of great activity. He, like his father, was a Baptist, a member of the church, and he did sometimes officiate as a preacher. He was never, however, a

* This account of Maturin, the father of Hosea, except on those points on which I have given my authority, has been made up from statements drawn, in the course of repeated conversations, from the venerable Hosea himself and his aged and amiable consort, with whom I was on terms of the greatest intimacy and confidence from the year 1820. I ought also to mention that I have had opportunities of conversing with other aged persons, who remembered the father of Hosea. These conversations it was my custom to commit to writing, for their better preservation, and they have proved of much use to me.

settled pastor. In the course of his life he renounced the doctrine of endless sin and torture as dishonorable to God, and embraced that of the final holiness and happiness of all men as a scriptural doctrine. He died in Monroe, Mass., Feb. 16th, 1834, in his eighty-seventh year.* The following effusion will show the thoughts he entertained in regard to the Saviour. If it be not valuable for its poetical beauty, it certainly is for its sentiments.

“THOUGHTS ON THE SUN.

“ Why not my Saviour shine as bright,
 With his refulgent rays ?
 Why not my God extend his light
 In one eternal blaze ?

“ Why not all darkness flee away,
 And death no more be found ?
 Why not one bright eternal day
 Encircle us around ?

* For a brief account of him, see *Trumpet*, vol. vi. p. 143. A slight attention to this account of Benjamin Ballou, will show the inaccuracy of the following passage from a sermon against Universalism, delivered a few years since at Winchester, Ill., by the Rev. Mr. Davis :

“ The doctrine of endless punishment had been believed and taught ever since before the Christian Era, while Universalism was modern in the extreme, never having been taught in the world till Hosea Ballou taught it in America; and he did not teach it in its present form, but taught *Restorationism*. After his *death*, Hosea Ballou, Second, came out, and made the grand discovery that his *father*—Hosea the First—had been mistaken all *his life*, that in fact there was no punishment after death at all. So Hosea, Second, son of Hosea, First, after the *death* of his father, was the father of Universalism in its present form; and he could not parse a sentence in his mother tongue,” &c.

“ Is there not goodness in the Lord
 Enough to overcome ?
 Is there not power enough in God
 To bring the strangers home ?

“ Why not my Saviour victory gain
 O'er every hardened heart,
 And reconcile the whole to him,
 And never leave a part ?

“ Was not an ancient promise made,
 When God created man ?
 And what can ever be displayed
 To overthrow His plan ?

“ When everything shall hear His voice,
 He makes an end of sin
 Will not the angels more rejoice
 When all are gathered in ?

“ The lum'nous sun extends his light
 To all the human race ;
 Will not my Saviour make as bright
 The kingdom of his grace ! ” *

The second sister, Amey, died in Rhode Island, when about six years old.

The third sister, Lydia, lived to be upwards of eighty. She married Samuel Moses, of Warwick, and died, leaving a large family of children.

The second brother, Maturin, was, as we have before said, a Baptist preacher ; and having been born in

* This article may be found in Ballou's " Voice to Universalists," pp. 231, 232, where it is erroneously attributed to Rev. Hosea Ballou.

July, 1755, he was over sixteen years of age at the birth of Hosea ; and, dying at the age of thirty-five, he never could have known Hosea as a Universalist. His death took place not far from the time that Hosea united himself with the Baptist church in Richmond.

David, the third son, and sixth child, was nearly thirteen years older than Hosea. He was a preacher of universal grace and salvation for many years, and followed that vocation, whenever his circumstances would permit, as long as he lived. A further account of him may be found below.

Nathan, the fourth son, was remarkable for industry. He was at first a Baptist, but afterwards became a Universalist, and for many years adorned the doctrine he professed, with a sober, Christian life, being faithful in the discharge of all his duties. He had a large family, to whom he greatly endeared himself by his kindness. He was beloved as a neighbor, and respected as a citizen. He closed his peaceful life in Monroe, Mass., where he resided for many years, on 4th August, 1838, aged seventy-eight. The present Rev. R. A. Ballou is his grandson.

Sarah, the fourth sister, became the wife of Moses Wheaton, of Richmond. She lived to be over sixty. Asa Wheaton, for a short time a preacher among the Universalists, was her son. He died a young man. She also had a son who was a Methodist preacher.

Phoebe, the fifth sister, died a young woman.

Stephen, the fifth son, moved in early life to the State of New York, where he lived for many years a very upright life. A reference to him, in a communication

from his brother Hosea, may be found in the *Modern History of Universalism*, pp. 435, 436.

Hosea was the sixth son and youngest child.

SECTION VI. — REV. DAVID BALLOU.

We return now to David, to complete the sketch of his life. He was, of course, trained up by the father in the belief of Calvinism; but he had the blessing common to all the sons, that of a sound mind. When he was about twenty years of age, living at home with his father, the subject of Universalism began to attract public attention in that vicinity. Elder Caleb Rich, himself at first a member of a Baptist church, had been brought to the knowledge of universal grace, and had planted himself in Warwick, Mass., a town in immediate contiguity with Richmond, N. H. He raised up a band of fellow-believers in the last-named town. The Universalists in this and the adjoining towns came to the resolution to set up church discipline, and hold regular meetings. Thomas Barnes, who afterwards became a somewhat successful preacher, was converted about this time, and assisted Elder Rich in his labors. It was finally resolved that the latter should be ordained as a preacher of the universal goodness of God, and the final holiness and happiness of all men. They had heard that a certain Mr. Murray, an Englishman, had arrived in this country, and was preaching the same doctrine at Cape Ann, and occasionally at Boston; but they had never seen him, and they were Universalists before they had heard of him. There was another preacher of simi-

lar faith, of whom they knew more, Elder Adam Streeter, who preached in various parts of Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; and to him they despatched a request, that he would come to Richmond and assist in the ordination of Mr. Rich. He was present; and on that great occasion (for it was a truly great occasion to the little band of which we speak) he was the harbinger of good tidings. This event stirred the country all round about. Not less than three hundred persons were present at the service; and these related the events of the day, and the arguments and illustrations they had heard, to thrice three hundred more. Elder Rich continued to preach in Richmond and the neighboring towns. Is it reasonable to suppose these events could have transpired in the immediate vicinity of David Ballou, just at the time when his mental powers were ripening into full strength, without making a deep impression upon him? Notwithstanding the watchful care of a pious and affectionate parent, would not such a young man, unless expressly forbidden, occasionally find an opportunity to listen to the new doctrine? True, he was a member of the church of which his father was pastor; but it was the custom in those days for Baptists to plead that men had the right to hear and judge for themselves. He undoubtedly read his Bible much, and pondered upon the arguments he heard from time to time. New thoughts would occasionally occur to him, no doubt; and the result was, that before he was thirty years of age he was convinced of the truth of Universalism. A man with a mind like his never does anything in haste. He looks carefully before he advances; he examines a matter well

before he is convinced; he is not in haste to avow his convictions; it is not until all doubt is removed, and duty demands that he shall speak, that he utters to you the full conviction of his mind. Such was the case with David Ballou, who, at the age of thirty-one years (1789), avowed himself a Universalist, and commenced to preach the doctrine.

After continuing in this vocation for several years, dispensing the word of truth in Richmond and the country round about, Mr. Ballou, at the age of forty, removed to a small, rough, and thinly-settled town, near the north-western corner of Massachusetts, now known by the name of Monroe; and here he remained through his long life; and here he died, and was buried. For many years he had so many pressing calls for his services, that he could have spent his whole time in preaching the word of eternal life, which would have been very agreeable to his feelings, had not the wants of a large family required his labors in a different capacity. He received but a very small amount for his services, owing partly to his own reluctance to receive pay for his labors in the gospel, and partly to the straitened circumstances of the people to whom he preached. The brethren were not organized into societies, and the preacher obtained only what individuals were disposed to give. David Ballou, therefore, was obliged to bestow no small share of his attention upon his farm. Nevertheless, there was no long period, for thirty years or more, in which every Sabbath, as it came, did not find him before a congregation, gathered in some school-house, barn, or private dwelling, and now and then in some house dedicated to the praise of God,

exposing the doctrines and commandments of men, vindicating the character of God, and avowing the brotherhood and equal destiny of men. Frequently did he spend whole weeks together in travelling over mountains and through storms, to answer the calls made for his labors ; and returning to his home, weary in body and mind, he carried nothing to his family as the reward, but the consciousness that he had been forth on the Saviour's mission, dispensing light to those in error, and comfort to those who were in affliction. Besides preaching much in Monroe, and in nearly all the adjacent towns, there is scarcely a town in that part of Massachusetts, nor in the southern part of Vermont, which did not occasionally hear his voice. It was mainly through the influence which he exerted, that during the latter part of his life there was scarcely a family in the town in which he lived that had not embraced the doctrine he preached ; and the principal Universalist societies now in the south part of Vermont owe their origin to his labors ; and several preachers date their conversion from darkness to light, and their impulse to enter the ministry, to the knowledge and power which he communicated to their minds. The Rev. Moses Ballou, a very useful and popular preacher among the Universalists, was his son ; and the father lived several years after the son commenced his public labors in the gospel field. He rejoiced to see the son the preacher of a doctrine that lay so near his own heart, and also to behold him occupying so high a position in the denomination to which he belonged. As drew near the time of his transit to a better world, his mental powers being nearly dormant, a

brother preacher attempted to rouse him to conversation. Nothing seemed to make an impression on his mind, until the name of his son was mentioned. His countenance lit up with a smile, and he asked, "Do you expect to see him before long?" On being told that he did, the dying father said, "Tell him to continue to preach the truth." "This world (said he) is not sufficient for us. The mind finds no satisfying food here. The soul looks onward and upward for a home, and a good which it seeks in vain in the present life. This world indeed is a good one, viewed as the birth-place and temporary abode of man; but, having enjoyed the good which God has given the sons of men on earth, I am waiting, almost with impatience, for the time to come when I shall exchange this old worn-out frame for the house of God, which I trust I have, eternal in the heavens." He died December 20th, 1840, in his 83d year. He was a man of rare intellectual powers; — sagacious, cool, quick to see the fallacy of an argument, able to state his propositions clearly; in fine, he was what the world would call a close reasoner. But, as a speaker, he was not eloquent. He was pure and eloquent in thought, but not in word. It is said his manner was too closely intellectual to be popular with the multitude. He made as many converts, perhaps, considering the number of persons he addressed, as any other man.

In his moral character he was, we had almost said, blameless. And here we may make one remark, which is certainly worthy of mention, namely, that having enjoyed great opportunities to learn the estimate which the world has set on the character of Rev. Maturin Ballou,

father of Hosea, and on those of his numerous children, we are yet to learn that a single misdemeanor can be justly laid to the charge of either; we are yet to find the person who will not say they all lived Christian lives. David, like the rest, was a pure-minded man. The lines inscribed upon his humble grave-stone are truly indicative of his character :

“ While mental power and moral worth
By man shall be approved,
The memory of this friend shall be
Both cherished and beloved.

“ Long, with persuasive lips, he preached
In his Redeemer's name,
And lived the precepts taught by Him
By whom salvation came.”

On the death of David, Hosea remained the only survivor of all his father's children.

CHAPTER II.

HOSEA BALLOU'S BIRTH.—THEOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND AT THE TIME THEREOF.

HOSEA BALLOU was born in Richmond, N. H., on the 30th of April, 1771. At this time the troubles between Great Britain and her North American colonies were fast coming to a crisis; and this was the subject which, above all others, agitated the public mind. Richmond was far removed from the sea-coast, and at no time were the inhabitants put into any fear of an invasion of their town. It was a quiet place, in which the people supported themselves by hard labor, upon a soil not naturally very productive.

SECTION I. — CALVINISM PREDOMINANT.

The predominant religion in New England, at the time of Mr. Ballou's birth, was Calvinism. In the view of the old Calvinistic divines, God was a sovereign, and had a right to do what He would with his own. Adam, the progenitor of our race, had sinned, and had fallen from the favor and communion of God; and by this act he and all his posterity had become liable to all the miseries of this life,—to death itself, and to the pains of hell forever. The divine law, which had thus been broken,

required that every offender should suffer endless misery, the just punishment for sins committed against an infinitely just and sin-hating God. But God, who from his own good pleasure inclined to mercy, determined not to leave all mankind to perish in this state of sin and misery; and therefore, of his own grace, he selected a portion of the fallen race of man, and entered into a covenant of grace with them, to deliver them from their state of sin and misery into a state of salvation, by a Redeemer. The rest of mankind, no more guilty than the elect (for all were worthy of endless condemnation), he was pleased to pass by, and ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sins, to the praise of his vindictive justice.

Why God, if truly benevolent, could not have elected the whole to salvation, under the circumstances we have named, was a question that does not seem to have obtruded itself greatly upon the minds of the clergy of the times of which we speak. But how were the elect to be saved? In the following manner: God himself assumed flesh, took upon himself the nature of man, and thus became God-man.—the infinity and the humanity united; and thus the Godhead became capable of death, and of offering an infinite sacrifice upon the cross. Jesus, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, offered himself a sacrifice for sin, and bore the punishment of the sins of the elect in his own body. Thus the divine law was satisfied; God could be just, and yet be the justifier of him who believed. This sacrifice, however, was for the elect only. The eternal damnation of the non-elect was just, because it was a deserved punishment. True, these deserved it no more than the elect;

but blame God, said the old divines, not because he causes sinners to suffer what they justly deserve; blame him, if you must, for plucking the elect as brands from the burning.

This religion was the source of gloom. Some, perhaps, who believed it, could be occasionally merry, not excepting the clergy; for the horrible decree became familiar to them. By continually preaching about it, its repulsiveness wore away, as surgeons overcome their first dread of corpses and skeletons by a continued practice of their profession. But, to the great body of those who believed it, Calvinism was, more or less, a religion of gloom. God was looked upon with terror, and even his ministers upon the earth were regarded with awe. Few were to be saved. By far the larger proportion of mankind — perhaps ninety-nine in a hundred of those who were then on the earth — were destined to sink down into irretrievable ruin. Few indeed there were who dared to question the truth of the doctrine of endless damnation. If men were permitted to question one point, they might question others; and the clergy were more jealous of the doctrine referred to, from the fact, perhaps, that it was more prominently exposed to objections than any other. It was regarded as an undoubted sign of unreconciliation to God for a man to deny to him the right to do what he would with his own; and, so far from a man being at liberty to murmur against God for the endless damnation of the sinner, even though it were his dearest earthly friend, he was required to be perfectly willing to be damned himself, if it were God's will, for the divine glory. What right had the non-elect to complain?

They would not be called to suffer anything they did not deserve; and a poor reward was it for the elect to render to God for making them the monuments of his grace, to dispute the rectitude of his government. The mandate of Calvinism was, "Let every mouth be stopped; the whole race of Adam are worthy of endless pains!" The slight distinctions which have been made by Hopkins and Emmons, and by which they have sought to soften the rigors of Calvinism, were little known at the time to which we refer; and, in fact, they amount to nothing in mitigation of the severity of the system,—it is the same "horrible decree," after all.

SECTION II. — Milder forms little known.

Arminianism was but little known. The Methodists, after the form of Wesley, had not arisen in this country. Whitefield, who had produced so wide a sensation in the land, was a Calvinist. The Baptists were of the same faith. They differed from the clergy of the standing order principally in the matter of baptism. There was, here and there, a clergyman of more liberal faith; but he had to shine very cautiously with his truth. These clergymen were settled principally in the larger towns, where heresy was not so quickly seen; and the most of them in the vicinity of Boston. There were one or two clergymen in Boston who undoubtedly rejected the doctrine of endless misery altogether; but they seldom, if ever, preached upon the subject. These were Drs. Mayhew and Chauncy. The former was the bolder, more ingenuous, and more high-minded man; and, upon the

annual Thanksgiving, in 1762, one of the great facts for which he called upon his people to be thankful to God was the *final result* of the interposition of his grace. He told them that Jesus would reign until he subdued all things unto himself; that where sin aboundeth, grace shall much more abound; that the same creature which God made subject to vanity shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God; that "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive;" and that there shall be a restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. Dr. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, a contemporary with Mayhew, and pastor of the First Church, was undoubtedly a believer in the final salvation of all mankind. But he seldom, if ever, preached this doctrine. When he had written his large work on that subject, which he chose not to publish until some years after it was ready for the press, he was asked if Dr. Mayhew had seen it. "No," said Chauncy, "he cannot keep a secret. I am not yet ready or determined to publish it; but, if he sees it, such is his frankness, that all the world will soon know it."*

Dr. Mayhew, however, preached but little on the subject of the final happiness of all men; in fact, it is not known that he ever directly declared that sentiment, except on the occasion of the annual Thanksgiving we have named. He did, however, openly attack several of the fundamental points of Orthodoxy, and this, too, in

* See "Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston, from June 1747, to July 1766. By Alden Bradford, LL.D." Boston, 1838, p. 479.

language of great power. Dr. Chauncy kept his manuscript work, on the salvation of all men, in his own house, and the secret of it locked up in his own soul (with the exception that it was committed to a few literary friends), for several years. In 1782, he sent out a pamphlet, without his name, containing extracts from various European writers of note, in favor of the salvation of all men; and it was supposed to be a sort of forerunner to his large work,—to feel out the public sentiment, and enable its author to determine whether it would be safe for him to publish that work over his own name. If this was the intent, the doctor did not remain long in doubt. The pamphlet was attacked, with great severity, by Drs. Eckley and Mather, of Boston, and Dr. Gordon, of Roxbury; and the probability is that Dr. Chauncy saw that the public feeling against the doctrine of the salvation of all men was too strong to make it proper for him, the pastor of the First Congregationalist church in Boston, to give publication to his principal work. It was not committed to the flames, but was sent to England, and published, without the author's name, immediately after the close of the war of the Revolution; but it was publicly acknowledged as his own within a year or two after it appeared.

SECTION III. — VICINITY OF BOSTON — UNIVERSALISTS UNKNOWN.

Of all places in the United States, Calvinism had the least hold upon the people of Boston. There were perhaps some ten or a dozen clergymen in that town and

vicinity who were anti-Calvinistic; and these were the root out of which the present sect of Unitarians grew. But the country at large did not feel the influence of these clergymen, to any considerable extent, in respect to the matter of which we speak. Calvinism darkened the land. The clergymen preached it, the people supposed it true, and many went on in their sins. As to the moral conduct of men upon the earth, it was not supposed it could affect their eternal salvation in any manner. If they were of the non-elect, they were to be damned for the sins of Adam; and if of the elect, they were to be made happy in eternity, not on account of faith, good works, or any condition performed by themselves. As to loving God because he first loved them, or as to being led to repentance for sin by his goodness, how could any such considerations address themselves to men who believed in Calvinism? Such is a sketch of the theology of our country at the time of the birth of Hosea Ballou.

Universalists, as a distinct body of men, were then unknown in America. There was a small congregation of that faith in London, and, it may be, one or two others in the British empire, but not a single society on this side of the Atlantic. There were, it is true, occasionally individuals who avowed themselves to be believers of the final holiness and happiness of all men. Certain sects of Germans in Pennsylvania, it was said, held that doctrine; and Dr. DeBennetville, a German immigrant, exercised the double vocation of a physician and a preacher, and preached it as an important part of God's message to man. But these distant lights were

not seen in New England. At the time of the birth of Mr. Ballou, John Murray, who was destined to hold so high a rank as a preacher of Universalism, had been in America about six months, and had not then been east of the Hudson river. There was not a man in all New England who called himself a preacher of Universalism; and, if we except an edition of Seigvolk's "Everlasting Gospel," published in Germantown, Pa., in 1753, no book professedly in defence of that doctrine had ever been published in America. Universalism had spread more in Pennsylvania than in any other province, but comparatively little was known of it even there.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION I. — HIS RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

WE come now to trace the religious education of young Mr. Ballou. His father, as we have shown, was a Baptist clergyman, and was strictly Calvinistic in his opinions. He was a very affectionate parent, and he fervently desired the conversion of his children. We have no evidence that any of the children were vicious, or even mischievous or giddy; but there were other things which weighed heavily upon the mind of the pious parent. He saw them exposed to the wrath and curse of God. He desired some evidence that they were of the elect; he prayed earnestly that they might be converted, and thus furnish the assurance that they were the favored of the Lord, whom he had plucked as brands from the burning. In his devotions at the family altar he would pray fervently for them, and sometimes, on such occasions, would call them by name. It will be recollected that all his sons had received Scripture names, with the exception of that one to whom he had given his own name,—Maturin. These were Benjamin, David, Nathan, Stephen, and Hosea; and at times the parent would pray that these sons might resemble the eminent

servants of God after whom they were called. It was not that they might turn from any habits of evil conduct to which they were addicted that he prayed, for they were addicted to none ; but that they might make their peace with God, be converted from their evil nature, and give evidence that they were not lost forever. Whether it ever occurred to him that if they were of the elect they would certainly be brought to the knowledge of the truth in due time, we have it not in our power to say ; but it is certain that the reverend father had a very sincere desire for their salvation.

SECTION II. — SEEKS TO UNDERSTAND CALVINISM.

He did not fail to impress upon their minds the important truths of the gospel, as he understood them. "As to the doctrine of Calvinism, in which my honored father was a believer," said Rev. Hosea, many years afterwards, "and which doctrine he preached until nearly the end of his public labors, my acquaintance with its various tenets while quite a youth was by no means very limited. Owing to the pious endeavors of a parent whose affections for his children rendered him extremely anxious for their spiritual welfare, and to an early desire of my own to understand the doctrine of Christianity correctly, I was well acquainted with the most common arguments which were used in support of predestination, election, reprobation, the fall of man, the penal sufferings of Christ for the elect, the justice of reprobation, and many other particulars, such as regard the moral agency of man, and his inability to regenerate himself,

the sovereignty and irresistibility of regenerating grace," &c. &c.*

The means by which he became thus early acquainted with the doctrines of Calvinism were undoubtedly the preaching and conversation of his father, and of the clergymen who from time to time visited the house. Of books there were but few within his reach. We can readily perceive how a family like that of which we speak should regard the subject of religion. They were all sincere; they believed that Calvinism was the doctrine of the Scriptures; they had not been in the habit of hearing this disputed. Books on religious controversy were rarely to be met with, and perhaps never found their way into the quiet residence of the Baptist pastor in Richmond. There was a peculiarity in the minds of the family. They were all of a logical cast of intellect. They looked into the reason and the nature of things. Such men generally come out right, but they proceed slowly and cautiously. There was something in Calvinism that was true; there was such an adaptation of certain of its points to other points in the same system; there was such an agreement of certain points with the well-known attributes of God, that a man of logical mind would be led to acknowledge the truth of the system, if he had not correct views of the infinite benevolence of God. And how few were there in that day who saw the goodness of God in its fulness! The family of which we speak trusted, therefore, for a time, in Calvinism. Doubtless the subject was often deeply considered. The objec-

* See the sketch from his own pen, in "Mod. Hist. of Universalism," first edition, pp. 433, 434, note.

tions which could be urged against that theory were stated and answered. They all desired to know the truth; they all desired to understand the principles of Christianity. Universalism was but little known. Indeed, Arminianism had but few defenders; and that system would not find favor in a family accustomed to discuss matters fearlessly and understand them clearly.

He believed sincerely in the dogmas of Calvinistic theology; and the doctrine, in all its horrific character, he applied to himself. He was as likely as any other person to belong to the unhappy class whom God had been pleased to pass by, and ordain to dishonor and wrath for their sins. He had seen no evidence that he was one of the elect; he had not been brought, by the influences of God's Spirit, to experience regenerating grace; and although there was hope while the lamp of life continued to burn, he had great fears in regard to his final salvation.*

SECTION III. — UNIVERSALISM TAKES ITS RISE IN HIS BIRTHPLACE.

The state of religion was, however, destined to undergo no small change in the hitherto quiet Richmond. There was a man, in the adjoining town of Warwick, Rev. Caleb Rich, whom we have already named, and who professed to believe in the final holiness and happiness

* "That multitudes have been in great fear of being rejected by the Almighty at last, I have no doubt; for I confess those torments have been mine in no small degree."—*Treatise on Atonement*, first edition, p. 124.

of all mankind. He was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, in August, 1750. On arriving at the age of manhood, it became necessary for him to look up a farm in some new country; for, as his means were very limited, he could not purchase one that had been already cleared; he moved, therefore, in 1771, to Warwick. He always loved religion, and, after settling in that town, he joined the Baptist church. His mind was continually exercised on the subject of religion, and it was but a year or two after he was united to the church, before he was brought to believe in the final holiness and happiness of all mankind. He could not conceal the light which God had shed upon his mind. He believed it was his duty to let it shine before men, that they also might be brought to glorify God. He made an open profession of his new faith; and the consequence was that he was ejected both from the Baptist church and the society. On the breaking out of the Revolution, he entered the army and marched to Cambridge; but the duties of a soldier being onerous and disagreeable to him, he obtained a substitute, was discharged, and returned to Warwick. About the year 1781, he was ordained to the work of the gospel ministry; but, as these particulars have been described in another place, we pass them over the more slightly here. He preached the doctrine of Universalism, in Warwick, Richmond and the neighboring towns; and by the blessing of God he was the means of bringing many to the knowledge of the truth. It seems probable that we are to attribute to him the conversion of young Ballou to the belief of that doctrine, though we do not propose to speak particularly on that point now. He was

the first to turn public attention to it in the vicinity of Richmond; he caused the subject to be agitated in the minds of the people, and this excitement, in due time, produced very important consequences. Of books on Universalism there were none to be obtained; but that which was not written upon paper was indelibly impressed by this man's labors upon the hearts of many of the people. Elder Caleb Rich gave the first impulse to Universalism in the northern section of Massachusetts and the south-western section of New Hampshire.

SECTION IV. — HOW UNIVERSALISM WAS REGARDED.

At the time Elder Rich was ordained, young Ballou was living in his father's family, at the age of about ten years. By the Baptists in general, the elder was regarded as an apostate, and the sentiments which he cherished were denounced as the rankest heresy. "I remember very well," said Mr. Ballou, many years afterwards, "how the doctrine of universal salvation affected the common mind when it was first talked of in the vicinity where my youth was spent. The doctrine excited horror, mingled with disgust, and was denounced as the most dangerous heresy ever propagated. Dangerous on account of two certain consequences: 1st, The entire prostration of all piety and morality in society in this world; and, 2d, The certainty of everlasting condemnation in the future. At that time, what is now rather seldom hinted even in a low voice,—namely, if I believed so I would lie, cheat, indulge in dissipation, wallow in sin of every kind, not hesitating to take the

lives of my neighbors, my family, or even my own,—was then loudly vociferated from almost every lip, and *I was perfectly satisfied that such must be the natural tendency of the doctrine.* Time and experience have now entirely disproved the first of the above-mentioned consequences; for many thousands have come into the belief of Universalism since those days, and now constitute a religious denomination, professing and practising piety towards God, and good-will to mankind.”*

It will be seen, from this extract, that the man who has since been so eminent a defender of Universalism, so eminent a defender of the fact of present retribution for the sins of this life, was educated in sentiments of utterly the opposite character; and he actually believed that if this doctrine were true, it were better for a man to give himself up to all manner of sin. How blind are mortals to the purposes of the Almighty! How utterly ignorant was young Ballou of the important part he was to act on the stage of human life! He had been taught that God could sentence men to endless damnation, and still be just; and when Universalism sprung up in the region where he lived, he partook freely of the common prejudices against it. He felt that there were points in Calvinism that were capable of the fullest defence; and this fact, perhaps, added to the influence of his father, and the position which the family occupied in the town, inclined him to regard Universalism as a dangerous heresy.

* See *Universalist Magazine*, A. D. 1826, vol. vii. p. 127, and *Future Retribution*, first edition, p. 172.

SECTION V. — A REVIVAL AMONG THE BAPTISTS.

From the remarks just made, the reader will have a tolerable understanding of the state of young Ballou's mind from 1780 to 1789. Between these dates his father ceased to be the pastor of the church in Richmond, to which he had ministered nearly twenty years, and the charge went into the hands of Elder Isaac Kinney. There had been a division in the church, on some subject not now fully known, and a section had broken off and formed another society, under the pastorship of Elder Artemas Aldrich. But the relations between both the original pastors and their churches were broken, and then the two united again, under the ministry of Elder Kinney. To this union succeeded a time of mutual zeal and engagedness; and, as a consequence, arose what was called in those days a "reformation," but what in later times would be denominated a "revival." These matters are referred to by one of the American historians, of the Baptist denomination, as follows: "The Richmond church was formed in 1770, and the same year Mr. Maturin Ballou was ordained their pastor. The next year they joined the Warren Association, and continued in connection with that body a great number of years. This church has passed through a variety of scenes, both prosperous and adverse. For a number of years they were harassed with ministerial taxes. In 1780, they experienced a revival, by which more than forty members were added. But soon after this joyful event a division ensued, and another church was formed, and Elder

Artemas Aldrich was ordained as its pastor. In 1790 these churches, which had been low and in broken circumstances, were refreshed by a copious shower of divine grace; and in the course of two years upwards of a hundred members were added; the two churches laid aside their bickerings and united as one; their two former pastors were dismissed, and Mr. Isaac Kinney was ordained to the pastoral care of the united body." *

It was during the revival mentioned, that Mr. Ballou, then in his nineteenth year, found his attention turned in an unusual degree to the subject of religion, and he was one of the "hundred" converts referred to above.

SECTION VI. — HE JOINS THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

He gave a relation of the exercises of his mind before the church, was accepted, and was baptized by Elder Kinney. Mr. Ballou's account of this interesting event of his life, written in 1829, is as follows: "When I was in my nineteenth year, there was what was termed a reformation in the vicinity where I lived, and many of my young friends and acquaintances professed religion, and joined the Baptist church of which my father was† the pastor. At this time I became more specially attentive to the subject of religion, and thought it my duty to become a professor, and to join the church, which I did, in the sincerity of my heart, in the month of January, 1789." ‡ At this time he was, what he professed to be,

* See Benedict's History as before quoted, vol. i. pp. 326, 327.

† The meaning is, "was once the pastor."

‡ Mod. Hist. Universalism, first edition, p. 434.

a Calvinistic Baptist. He had no tincture of Arminianism. He believed in the sovereignty of God; that God had a right to do what he would with his own; "that he doeth his will in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and that none can stay his hand, or say unto him why doest thou so;" that all that he doeth is for the best; that he has given his creature man no agency which He himself cannot control; and that it was just in him to ordain to dishonor and wrath those whom he had not been pleased to make the subjects of redeeming grace. The young man was no bigot. He professed what he thought was the truth, and what he was willing to defend. If it had not been the truth in his estimation, he would have renounced it willingly; but it seemed to him to be the sum of the gospel of Christ. He little knew, when he made this profession and joined the Baptist church, that he was to remain a member for a very short time. Let us now advert to the means by which he was brought to believe in the final holiness and happiness of all men.

SECTION VII.—HE REASONS WITH UNIVERSALISTS.

There were certain individuals in Richmond who had been brought to have some little knowledge of Universalism, from listening to the discourses of Elder Rich, whom we have mentioned. Among them was a Mr. James Ballou, — of more knowledge, probably, than the rest, second cousin to Hosea's father, and the parent of two sons, James and Silas. The elder James sometimes preached the doctrine of Universalism. These individuals,

although differing in important points of doctrine from the Baptists, did not hesitate to attend their meetings, when there was no service performed by a clergyman of their own faith. Young Hosea was well acquainted with them as his fellow-townsmen; and on the occasions adverted to they would enter mutually into conversation on the subject of religion, and seek to know the truth or falsity of the points on which the Baptists and Universalists differed. The young convert defended his Calvinistic tenets to the best of his ability; and there can be little doubt that he manifested some shrewdness in this matter, and gave Calvinism as good a defence as many a man of more years and more learning could have done. There are points in that system which can be successfully defended; but those were not the points in which it differed from Universalism. These mutual discussions had not continued for any great length of time, before young Ballou saw that his tenets could be so managed by his antagonists in the argument, as to make him either acknowledge the truth of Universalism, or else that the Deity was a partial being. If *he* said God has a right to do what he will with his own, they did not object, but replied, "Then of course he has a right to save them." If he maintained that God had a right to sentence his creatures to endless torment for their sins, it was said, in return, that "whether God had the right to make men endlessly miserable or not, was a point that needed not to be debated; he surely had no greater right to make a part endlessly miserable than the whole; and as all were sinners, by what rule would he save one part and damn the rest?" If he answered that all were sinners, and

all deserved endless damnation for their sins, but that God saw fit, from his infinite mercy, to save a part, and snatch them as brands from the burning, and that this did no injustice to the non-elect, for they had no greater suffering on account of the election of others, it was asked, "Is not this partial? If all were alike guilty, why make a distinction? Why did not infinite mercy save the whole? If it were not wrong to save a part who were infinitely guilty, it could not be wrong to save the remnant, who could be no more guilty; and if, under these circumstances, a part only were preordained to salvation, the Deity must be partial." The young man saw that there was no way in which he could defend the divine character from the charge of partiality. This gave him no small inquietude, for he never was able to derive satisfaction from sentiments which he could not defend. But that which contributed more than anything else to turn his thoughts seriously towards the doctrine of Universal Salvation, was the ardent desires he had that sinners might be brought to repentance and salvation. He found it utterly impossible to bring the feelings of his kind and benevolent heart to conform to the doctrine of endless torture; and he was compelled to allow, either that such feelings were sinful, proceeding from unreconciliation to God, or else that God, in giving them to him, had imparted an evidence in favor of the salvation of all men, the force of which he could not resist.* In a letter to a correspondent, written in the year 1849, he said,

* Mr. Ballou's account of these matters we here give in his own words:

"At the time I joined the Baptist church, there were in Richmond and Warwick a few individuals who called themselves Universalists,

"I was taught by the Scriptures, by my reverend father, by all my Christian acquaintances, as also by my own experience, to love all mankind. This we all know is the foundation of Universalism. There were a few in the region where I lived who believed in the doctrine of Universal Salvation, with whom I conversed. They urged, in addition to certain passages of Scripture which they thought favored the doctrine, the fact that all Christian people profess to love all mankind, and are in the constant habit of offering prayers which correspond with the love they profess. I was unable to meet this

and who occasionally heard Br. Caleb Rich hold forth that doctrine. There was also an elderly gentleman by the name of Ballou, a distant relation of my father, who also occasionally preached the same doctrine. These individuals frequently attended the Baptist meetings, and, being of my acquaintance, we often conversed on the question whether all mankind would alike be made partakers of the salvation of God. In those conversations I frequently found that my Calvinistic tenets could be managed either to result in Universal Salvation, or to compel me to acknowledge the *partiality* of the divine favor. This gave me no small inquietude of mind, as I was always unable to derive satisfaction from sentiments which I could not defend. That which more than anything else contributed to turn my thoughts seriously towards the belief of Universal Salvation, was the ardent desires, with which I found myself exercised, that sinners might be brought to repentance and salvation. I found it utterly impossible to bring the feelings of my heart to conform to the doctrine of eternal reprobation; and I was compelled to allow, either that such feelings were sinful, or that my heavenly Father, in giving them to me, had imparted an evidence in favor of the salvation of all men, the force of which I found no means to resist. As yet I was, like young converts in general, very little acquainted with the Scriptures. But the trials which I was then undergoing led me to examine the written word, to satisfy myself on the great question which had such weight on my mind. On reading the Bible, there would now and then, here and there, a passage appear to favor the doctrine of universal and impartial grace. But all the prejudices of my early education, in these things, were arrayed against my making any advances."

argument in a way to satisfy my own mind ; and was led thereby to read my Bible, and to study the great subject with intense interest." *

SECTION VIII. — HE IS THROWN INTO DOUBT.

But as yet he was like young converts in general, slightly acquainted with the Scriptures. He was led by the conversations we have named to read the Bible, as he says, with intense interest, and with special reference to the question whether it taught the final holiness and happiness of all men. It is to be supposed that he sought aid from his reverend father in these inquiries ; but his mind was so capable of forming its own judgment, that, while he would pay the most respectful deference to what the parent might say, and give it a full degree of consideration, he would not believe, nor profess to believe, any alleged truth, unless the evidence satisfied himself. On reading the Bible, a passage would occasionally strike him which seemed to teach the doctrine of Universalism ; and other texts, if not seeming to assert the doctrine literally, still gave such descriptions of the character of God, — of his tenderness as a Father, of the freeness, extent and enduring quality of his mercy, of his knowledge of the feebleness of man, whose exposure to temptation could not but palliate human guilt in the sight of a just and holy God, — such texts undoubtedly made an impression upon his mind. But all the prejudices of his early education were arrayed against his embracing the

* See his letter to Rev. C. F. R. Shehane, dated Boston, Sept. 6, 1849, and published in the *Investigator*, at Notasulga, Ala.

despised doctrine of Universalism. Education does, in the nature of things, have a great influence upon a man. It has formed his mind ; it has established his habits of thinking ; it has supplied the information he possesses. Young Ballou had been educated in Calvinism, under the eye and charge of a preacher of that doctrine, to whose pulpit labors and private instructions he had always listened. He had heard the word of God explained in agreement with it. Those parts which were thought to favor it had been kept uppermost in his mind, and those which teach the doctrine of Universalism were unknown to him until now. Under these circumstances, he could not be in haste to embrace Universalism. No man with a mind like his would proceed hastily ; he had much to unlearn ; and he was not unlike a man walking in darkness, with false views of his position and of the objects by which he is surrounded. A beam of light breaks in upon him, shining sufficiently to lead him to suspect that objects do not exist in the precise form in which he had been accustomed to contemplate them ; but still the light is indistinct, the beams are refracted by the obliquity of his thoughts ; and he is not able to determine precisely where he is, nor what are the circumstances by which he is surrounded.

SECTION IX.—HE TAKES A JOURNEY TO NEW YORK.

It was in this state of mind that young Mr. Ballou left his native town, and went a journey, in company with his brother Stephen, to the central part of the State of New York, — then almost an utter wilderness, — to a town called Westfield, but now bearing the name of Hartford.

Stephen had joined the Baptist church a short time after Hosea; and, from what he had seen before leaving home, or from the conversation in the course of the journey, he became quite fearful that Hosea was inclining towards the doctrine of Universalism. In the town we have named there was a Baptist congregation, under the pastoral care of a certain Elder Brown, on whose ministry the two brothers attended. Stephen made known to Hosea his fears that he was verging towards Universalism, and urged him to hold a conversation with Elder Brown, in the hope, no doubt, that by the elder's arguments the young man's mind might be diverted from the dangerous doctrine to which he seemed inclined.

SECTION X. — THE INTERVIEW WITH ELDER BROWN.

No objection being made, a conference was appointed after divine service on the Sabbath day, that Hosea might be fully convinced Universalism was not of God. Whether the conference was private, or whether such members of the congregation as desired were present, we have not the means now of knowing; but Elder Brown and Hosea met. The elder felt the dignity of his position, and entered upon the work with no lack of confidence. He called upon the young man to bring forward any passage of scripture which he thought proved the doctrine of Universalism, and the folly of applying the passage to such a purpose should be clearly pointed out. The young man knew where some of the proof-texts were to be found, and he turned at once to Romans 5: 18. He had read this chapter repeatedly with much attention, and he knew

the relation of one part to another, and saw, or thought he saw, the general plan of the apostle's argument therein. The verse referred to is as follows: "As by the offence of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." The young man remarked to the elder, that he felt himself altogether unable to understand this text in agreement with the doctrine of the reprobation of a part of the human race to endless woe. The elder proved, not that the passage was consistent with partial election and reprobation, for that was impossible; but he showed that he himself did not appreciate the argument, and that he thought he could supply with strength of voice what he lacked in understanding of the Scriptures. In the intervals, when young Mr. Ballou could get an opportunity to speak, he would suggest to the elder that the most of what he had said had no relation to the text; and, if he would examine the matter with care, he would see that the same *all men* who were represented as being under condemnation in the first member of the sentence, were represented as being justified by the free gift of eternal life in the latter clause. This argument evidently confused him, and he became displeased. He could no longer converse in a right spirit, and the conversation was very properly discontinued.*

* The author of this biography took much pains, in the year 1829, when he was about to bring out his "Modern History of Universalism," to obtain from Mr. Ballou an account of his conversion to Universalism, and the means that led to it. It appeared in 1830, in the work just named. We here give another extract:

"In the spring following my union with the Baptist church, I left

SECTION XI. — EFFECT OF THE INTERVIEW.

The effect of this interview must now be traced. Stephen Ballou became still more alarmed. He was the elder of the two; and his brother having been permitted to go the journey with him, he, perhaps, felt some re-

Richmond, my native place, and went with my brother Stephen, next older to myself, who joined the church a short time after me, to Hartford, in New York, then called Westfield, where we spent the summer. In this town there was a Baptist church and congregation, enjoying the pastoral labors of Elder Brown, on whose ministry we attended. My brother was apprehensive that my mind was inclined to Universalism; and told me that he had a desire that I should converse with Elder Brown on the subject, by which means he hoped I should become fully convinced that the doctrine was false, and be more settled in the belief in which I had made profession. It must be here understood that I was, by no means, at that time, settled in my faith. There was, at my brother's request, a conference appointed, after public service, on the Sabbath, for Elder Brown to convince me that I ought to give no heed to the doctrine which labored in my mind. Accordingly, we met. The Elder requested me to turn to some passage of Scripture which appeared to me favorable to Universalism, promising to do his endeavors to show me the error of applying it in favor of such a doctrine. I well remember the apparent confidence which this man manifested when he took his seat, and called on me to find some scripture that in the least favored so dangerous an error. I opened to the 5th chapter of Romans. I had read this chapter with much attention, and was tolerably acquainted with its several parts and their relation to each other. I directed him to the 18th verse; and told him that I was unable to understand the passage, if it agreed with the doctrine of the eternal reprobation of any of the human family. He immediately began, in his way, to speak very loudly, and nothing to the subject. When he would stop, I had only to inform him that what he had offered had no relation to the text I had produced; and, by showing him that the same *all men* who were under condemnation in the first member of the text were under justification in the last, evidently confused his mind, and immediately turned it sour. He was no longer able to converse with a right spirit, and prudence dictated a discontinuance. My brother now grew more uneasy, and told me that he was sorry I had conversed with Elder Brown; for, said he,

sponsibility in regard to keeping him in the faith. He was probably an undoubting believer in Calvinism at the time. He became more uneasy in consequence of the interview, and confessed to Hosea that he was sorry it had taken place. His reasons were these: "As Elder Brown could by no means answer you," said he, "and as he manifested anger, you will think you had the best of the argument, and will be encouraged to indulge favorable thoughts of Universalism." Surely this was the result that might have been reasonably expected. Hosea undoubtedly saw, even with more clearness than Stephen, that the Elder could not explain the passage consistently with the doctrine he preached. He saw, too, no just way in which he himself could interpret it, without allowing the truth of Universalism. Still he was

"as he could by no means answer you, and as he manifested anger, you will think you had the best of the argument, and will feel encouraged to indulge favorable thoughts of Universalism." You cannot suppose that I now use the very words which were used in conversation so long ago; I am careful only to give you the subject. As to this Elder Brown, I am far from wishing to represent him in an unfavorable light. I believe he was a worthy man. But it is a fact, that he was extremely ignorant of the subject, having had, as I presume, no acquaintance with the views of Universalists, or with their manner of arguing. I continued my researches with no small solicitude; and, by reading the Scriptures, and by conversing with those who opposed the doctrine, before I returned the next fall to Richmond, my mind was quite settled in the consoling belief that God will finally have mercy on all men. On my return, I found that my brother David Ballou, whose age is some over twelve years advanced of mine, had not only openly professed Universal Salvation, but had commenced preaching the doctrine. I spent most of my time with him until the fall before I was twenty-one, when I began to speak in public, believing and preaching Universal Salvation, on the Calvinistic principles of atonement and imputed righteousness."—*Mod. Hist. Universalism*, pp. 435, 436, note.

not in haste to avow his belief of that doctrine; he wished to examine the matter more fully, to reflect upon it with great caution; and whatever the result might be, when he came to a full conclusion, he did not intend to conceal his faith. He continued his researches with no small solicitude, and these researches were solely devoted to ascertain what the Scriptures taught on the great question of the final destiny of man. The two points presented to his understanding were these: Has God reprobated a part of the human race to endless death? or is he the Father, Friend and Saviour of all men? He had in his possession no book on theology except the Bible; this was his sole guide. There were no other books in that day, to which he had access, that taught the doctrine to which his mind had been turned. He had never heard a sermon upon the subject, if we except one preached by Elder Rich, when Hosea was a boy, which left no distinct impressions upon his mind.* The Bible, then, was his only study. He read it with a very strong desire to know the truth. His brother probably mentioned to the neighbors, and perhaps to some of the members of the church, that Hosea was inclining to a belief in Universalism. Some came to converse with him, and to save him, if they could, from what they esteemed a great error; but the conversations which passed between them served only to make the young man suspect more and

* "I never read anything on the doctrine of Universal Salvation before I believed it, the Bible excepted; nor did I know, that I now recollect, that there was anything published in its vindication in the world. Nor had I ever heard a sermon on the subject, except when in boyhood I heard Br. Rich; but concerning the sermon I realized nothing." — *Mod. Hist. Universalism*, p. 436, note.

more that the doctrines in which he had been educated could not be defended. Anything which served to keep Hosea's mind exercised on the subject, would almost inevitably help him along to the conviction that seemed now to be almost inevitable.

The passage from the 5th of Romans, which was the subject of consideration between Elder Brown and young Mr. Ballou, is in fact one of the most explicit and positive proof-texts of Universalism found in the Bible. It is an evidence of the young man's clear perception, that he selected this as one of the texts which it is impossible to reconcile with the Calvinistic decree of reprobation to endless death. He soon came to see that it did, beyond any doubt, teach the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men; and from that moment, as long as he lived, he never saw occasion to alter his opinion of the passage in this respect. Writers of the highest note have allowed its force. The same *many* that were made sinners, Paul declares shall be made righteous. Parkhurst, in his Greek Lexicon, says, "*οἱ πολλοί*, the many, *i. e.* the multitude, the whole bulk of mankind, Rom. 5: 15, 19, in which texts *οἱ πολλοί* are plainly equivalent to *παντες ανθρωπους*, all men, verses 12, 18." The learned Dr. Macknight is to the same purport, as the reader will see by what follows: "For as *οἱ πολλοί*, the many, in the first part of the verse, does not mean some of mankind only, but all mankind, from first to last, who without exception are constituted sinners, so *the many*, in the latter part of the verse, who are said to be constituted righteous through the obedience of Christ, must mean

ALL MANKIND, from the beginning to the end of the world, without exception." * Young Mr. Ballou knew nothing about these authors; for, as we have said, he got no hint in favor of Universalism from any book except the Bible. That was his theological library. He read it more and more. He sought for its true meaning as for hidden treasure. Whatever it taught, he most devoutly held to be truth.

SECTION XII. — HE BECOMES A UNIVERSALIST.

Hosea Ballou became not a Universalist from choice. His religious education was against such a conviction. He had been educated to regard the doctrine as a fatal error. Such, as we have shown, was the general impression respecting it in the town in which he lived, especially among those with whom he was most likely to have associated. He could not readily throw off the belief that there was great danger in becoming a Universalist. No doubt he rejoiced to see evidence accumulating in his mind that all men were the objects of divine favor, and might eventually be saved. There was not a tittle of misanthropy in him. He had no pharisaic spirit which leads men to complain if others are permitted to participate in the joys to which they themselves aspire. But, such had been his education, he was almost afraid to become a Universalist. In closing one of his works, published in 1805, he said, "You have now, kind reader, cast your eye over these pages; perhaps you feel to say that the doctrine of universal holiness and

* See his commentary on the place.

happiness cannot be true, notwithstanding all the author has said in favor of it; and if so, I condemn you not. The time has been when I believed as little of the doctrine as you now do; I never adopted the belief of universal holiness and happiness out of *choice*, but from the force of real or supposed evidence." * He was an honest inquirer after truth. He had been honest in all his movements in the matter of religion. He was honest when he offered himself a candidate for admission to the Baptist church. His attention had been specially called to the subject of religion; and, like Saul, he asked, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" He determined to be a disciple and servant of Jesus. When he became a Universalist, it was not from any change of determination in this respect. It was not because he lost his interest in religion. He loved his God, his Saviour and his Bible more, rather than less. He gave himself up to the influences of truth. The great question which he had to settle was, Is the doctrine of Universalism revealed in the Scriptures? If so, he desired to know it, because he desired to know the true sense of the word of God; and he felt that it was his duty to avow his faith on this point, as well as on any other. In exercises of mind like these, and in close study of the word of God, young Mr. Ballou spent the summer of 1789; and before the fall of this year his mind became quite settled in the belief that God will finally have mercy on all men.

It will be seen that the argument by which he was converted to Universalism was, 1st, the scriptural argument. In the days of which we speak, the Bible was the

* Treatise on Atonement, first edition, 1805, p. 214.

arbitrator; what that book taught was received as divine truth. It is true, men differed in their interpretations of the Scriptures; but what they believed to be the true sense of the sacred writings, was truth above all controversy. When Mr. Ballou saw that the doctrine of the despised Universalists was clearly taught in God's word, he received it into his heart, without any reservation. Like Paul, he "conferred not with flesh and blood." He received not this doctrine from man, neither was he taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. When Simon Peter avowed his faith that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God, the Master said to him, "Blessed art thou, Simon, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." Matt. 16: 17. So Hosea Ballou received the doctrine which he was thus brought to believe, from God. He studied the divine word; the holy Spirit opened the truth to his understanding, and he received it. Like seed sown in good ground, it brought forth abundant fruit in him. 2d. The *moral* argument also had much weight with the young man. He found himself possessed with very strong desires for the salvation of *all* his fellow-men. Who gave him these desires? Was it wicked for him to entertain them? Surely, it could not be offensive to God for a man to desire the conversion and purification of every sinner. Could a man be god-like who shut his ear to the cry of mercy? who closed his bosom against sympathy? who had no warm wish for the future welfare of his fellow-creatures? It seemed then to Mr. Ballou that the desires which he so warmly felt for the conversion and salvation of the world, and even for the worst of sinners, were

proper, and came from God. This being settled in his mind, he found it difficult to believe that God had decreed the endless torture of a large portion of the human race. If He had made such a decree, He seemed to stimulate men into unreconciliation to his own will, by planting desires in their hearts for the salvation of all. The two arguments combined — the scriptural and moral — expelled from his mind every doubt of Universalism.

He came back to Richmond a convert to the new and strange doctrine. We have never heard that his aged and pious father felt any diminution of affection towards him on account of this change in his faith. In some cases parents have disowned their children, and driven them from their presence, for that reason. But the father of Hosea was a very discreet man, as well as a very affectionate parent. There have been many reports of incivilities showed by the father to the son in consequence of his conversion to Universalism. But none of these are true. Whatever the father may have thought concerning this matter, he never made it the cause of alienation. Little did those know him who supposed him capable of rudeness, or of any conduct inconsistent with his character as a kind and faithful parent. Hosea's brothers and sisters still continued to love him. It would have been difficult to find a family that excelled this in the warmth of affection which the different members cherished towards one another. But there was one brother who received Hosea on his return with special interest; we mean David. During the youngest brother's absence in New York, David had embraced Universalism, and (what is still more important) had become a preacher

of that doctrine. There was a difference of twelve years in the ages of the two. David was a man of sound mind. He had it in his power to render much assistance to Hosea ; and, on the latter showing a disposition to avail himself of his instruction and advice, he received him to his house. This was an opportunity for improvement not to be lost. The young man must have seen this fact too clearly to permit himself to let it pass by, without deriving from it all the advantage in his power to obtain. David had few books. They were scarce, then, in that region, even in the houses of the rich ; but he had the Bible. He was a man of deep thought and sagacity, a student of the Scriptures ; and under these circumstances, he had it in his power to be of much advantage to his youngest brother.

SECTION XIII. — WHAT LED HIM TO PREACH.

Hosea, as yet, probably had no intention of becoming a preacher. It is possible the thought had never entered his mind. But he was a student of the Scriptures ; he had been brought up in a religious family ; he had had his attention specially turned to the subject of religion, and had made a public profession, received the ordinance of baptism, and united with the church. He was an ardent lover of mankind. He desired to have them delivered from their errors and their sins. He loved the truth. He desired to have the eyes of his understanding opened, that he might see the truth in all its harmony, and feel its full influence upon his soul. His father was a clergyman ; his brother Maturin had been a preacher,

but had gone down to an early grave. Benjamin, the eldest brother, had sometimes preached as a Baptist, and David had commenced to serve his day and generation in the same manner, as a Universalist. Besides these, there was an elderly man in Richmond, a Mr. James Ballou, who occasionally preached the doctrine of Universalism. What was more natural, under these circumstances, than that it should seem to the young man his duty to enter the ministry, if possessed of the talents requisite to make him useful in his Master's cause? If it was the will of God that he should preach the gospel, he would not decline. He desired to know his duty, and to perform it faithfully.

We have said that he returned to Richmond from New York, and entered the family of his brother David; but yet not having formed the determination to devote his life to the proclamation of the gospel. He had great doubts whether he possessed the requisite ability. Books on divinity he had scarcely read at all; books on Universalism he had never seen, if we except the Bible. In fact, there were no such books in that part of the country where he lived. There was only one sense in which he was a student of divinity. He had a natural propensity for investigation. He was never content to look only on the surface of things; he must know the wherefore. It was impossible for him to throw off this state of mind and these propensities. He could not believe any doctrine merely because others believed it. He had, perhaps, as much confidence in his father as an honest man, as in any man living; but he knew that even honest men might be in error; and he could not believe the doctrines which

his venerable sire preached, unless he saw the proof of their truth in the Bible. Such was Hosea Ballou at nineteen years of age. The theological school which he attended was at his brother David's house; his text-book the Bible, and the Bible only; but of teachers, if we except his brother, he had none. He gave himself up wholly to the influence of truth. He opened the windows of his mind, and said, "Shine in upon my soul, O thou Sun of righteousness!" When the thought of preaching occurred to him, it was always accompanied with diffidence and fear. But, if God had designed him for a preacher, he had no doubt that he should succeed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF MR. BALLOU'S MINISTRY,
DURING WHICH HE ABANDONED THE DOCTRINES OF THE
TRINITY, OF ATONEMENT (IN THE FALSE SENSE OF
THAT TERM), AND OF VICARIOUS SUFFERING.

SECTION I. — MR. BALLOU IS EXCOMMUNICATED.

SOON after it was known that young Mr. Ballou had embraced the doctrine of Universalism, he was excommunicated, in due form, from the Baptist church. It was for his *faith*, and this only, that he was rejected. To be cast out of a church for such a reason, is no disgrace. In our day, the fact of a person believing in the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men, would not of itself be regarded a cause for excommunication, unless he should make himself particularly obnoxious by a disputatious spirit, and by attempts to press his opinions upon others. But, at the time Mr. Ballou embraced this doctrine, it was regarded as one of the most deadly of all heresies, especially if viewed in reference to its consequences; as it was taught that it not only exposed the believer of it to endless perdition, as being out of the true faith, but also exposed society to be deluged

with wickedness. For, if such a doctrine should prevail, the flood-gates of vice (it was thought) would at once be opened. The great barrier against the flood of wickedness, was the public belief in the terrible consequences that awaited the sinner in the eternal world. The church did not excommunicate Mr. Ballou for anything vicious that he had done. They found no fault with his life; neither could they, for it had been pure. They had known him from his birth; and, in notifying him of the act of excision, they assured him it was not done on account of any sins of which he had been guilty, but for the reason, solely, that he believed in the salvation of all men.* This excommunication, however, did not remove him from the church of Christ, but merely from the Baptist church in Richmond. No church on earth, even though we regard it to be a branch of the church of Christ, has power to eject a member from Christ's church, for which he gave himself a ransom. Mr. Ballou, therefore, did not regard himself as being an excommunicate from the church of the Great Head.† He felt more than his former love for the Saviour, and for the Bible. He knew he was no less a Christian than before. He had no ill-will towards his brethren of the Baptist church. He

* "Soon after it was known that I believed in the doctrine, I was excommunicated from the church, and was honored with a copy of the document, carefully stating that no fault was found in me, excepting that I believed that God would finally save all men."—*Mod. Hist. Universalism*, first edition, p. 436, note.

† Those who would see his views on "The Church of Christ," are referred to his sermon on that subject, in the volume entitled "Select Sermons, delivered on various occasions, from important passages of Scripture." Boston, 1844, p. 131.

thought, indeed, they had treated him with as much tenderness as could reasonably be expected under the circumstances; and he continued to love them, not only while his aged father survived, but as long as any of the members survived whom he had known. He knew they were obliged to cut him off from their church, according to their own views of right, and he knew they did it without inflicting any pain upon him which it was possible for them, under these circumstances, to avoid.

SECTION II. — FIRST VISIT TO THE CONVENTION.

It was in the month of September, 1791, that young Mr. Ballou made his first visit to the General Convention of Universalists. This body had been organized in 1785, at Oxford, Mass., at which time he was fourteen years of age. Its sessions had been annually holden in Oxford, Boston and Milford, to wit: in Oxford in 1785, in Boston in 1786, in Milford in 1787, and probably in Oxford in 1788, in Boston in 1789, and in Milford in 1790. This would bring it to Oxford again in 1791. The statements here made rest on conjecture, so far as the years 1788, 1789, and 1790 are concerned; but we are sure that the body met in Oxford in 1791. Mr. Ballou, we have said, was present. He had not then preached. He was twenty years of age, and went down from Richmond in company with his brother David. It was on this occasion he saw, for the first time, the Rev. John Murray, who is so well known to the world as having been an able and successful defender of the great fact, that God "will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of

the truth." Here were gathered together the very few preachers of Universalism who then existed in New England. In the vast state of New York there was not at the time a single resident preacher of that faith. It is a remarkable fact, that from this meeting Mr. Ballou continued regularly to attend the annual sessions of the Convention, without missing even *one*, for nearly half a century. There are no records preserved of the session of 1791. It is probable that Mr. Ballou was unknown to all the preachers present, except his brother David. Even to himself, it was not then fully known that he should devote his life to the proclamation of divine truth. He saw that the Bible taught the doctrine of universal grace; he was willing to devote himself to the cause; but he had doubts as to his ability to render himself successful and useful in the work. He had no desire to be a cumberer of the ground; but he was willing to fill any position for which he was competent.

SECTION III. — HIS FIRST SERMON.

It was in the fall of 1791 that he preached his first sermon. His brother David, and Elder Rich, were of the opinion that it would not be improper for him to make the trial. We have not been able to learn that he had made any special preparation for the humble effort. The service was holden at the house of a Deacon Thayer, of Richmond, who was, in all probability, a believer in Universalism. The text was from 1 Cor. 1: 30. "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and

redemption." Some little interest existed to hear the young man, and his brother David and the elder above named were both present. The result as to the two last named was, that their minds were about equally balanced on the question whether he would finally be able to succeed as a preacher. This was the only circumstance that the venerable man could remember in his old age concerning his first discourse. The second time, said he, "I was much more unfortunate, if possible." He nearly broke down in the attempt. He went to Brattleboro, Vt., with his brother David, who had appointed to preach at a private house, occupied by a Mr. Butterfield. It was suggested to Hosea that he should preach. He had made no preparation, and was not expecting to discharge that service. But, at the request of his brother, he assented. He had but a very few moments to collect his thoughts, and the result was almost a total failure. He seriously doubted whether he ever should attempt to preach again. This is certainly an important lesson to those who have talent, not to be discouraged by the want of success in their earlier efforts. This young man afterwards became one of the most celebrated preachers in New England,—an orator of great power, of great fluency of speech; a man who could sway the judgment or move the feelings of his hearers; who seemed to have them almost entirely at his command; who could reason with an assembly, however great, for an hour or more, with every eye fixed upon him,—the house perfectly silent, saving the sound of his own voice,—the people motionless as statues, except when some effort of the speaker would send a wave of emotion over the vast assembly.

In regard to the doctrines of the first discourse we can form no opinion, only from conjecture. Mr. Ballou himself has told the world, that at the commencement of his ministry he preached Universalism upon the Calvinistic principles of atonement and imputed righteousness. By the atonement, in this case, he unquestionably intended the atonement, in the sense in which it is held by Calvinists, and not in the New Testament sense of the term. No man ever held the doctrine of the atonement in the latter sense more firmly than he did after his conversion and through his whole life. Like the greater part of the earlier preachers of Universalism, he had been educated a Calvinist. So had Murray, Streeter, Rich, Barnes, and others. When they became Universalists, it was by being brought to believe in the salvation of all mankind, in the same way and on the same principles on which they had previously believed in the salvation of the elect. There can be no doubt, then, that Mr. Ballou explained the text of his first sermon on the ground of imputed righteousness and vicarious sufferings. Christ was made unto mankind wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption, by the act of the Father. God was the author of all these blessings, for of him every blessing comes; he is the Father of lights, from whom cometh down every good and every perfect gift. God made his Son wisdom unto us; and in him there is a wisdom far excelling all earthly wisdom; for, while the wisdom which is from beneath is "carnal, sensual and devilish," the wisdom which is from above "is full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy." It was probably maintained, also, that Jesus was made unto us

righteousness. His righteousness was imputed to us, and we were accounted righteous in him before God. Jesus covered us with his righteousness as with a garment; he sanctified us in the sight of God; and in this way redeemed us from our manifold sins. In the purpose of divine grace, he did this for all mankind. The Son offered himself a ransom for the redemption of the world. He gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time. He is our advocate with the Father, being himself righteous; and, if we look to him with faith, we "behold the Lamb of God who taketh (or beareth) away the sins of the world."

SECTION IV. — VIEWS OF UNIVERSALISTS AT THE TIME.

The prevailing sentiments of the Universalists of this time — what few of them there were, were of the same nature with those described in the preceding section. They held to the penalty of the divine law as being endless torture; but Jesus had borne it in the room and stead of the sinner, who now stood complete in him, by whose righteousness and merits mankind had been restored to the favor of God. Jesus was the second person in the ever adorable Trinity. No mere man could have performed the part that belonged to Him in the work of redemption. He was the God-man; the human and divine were mysteriously united in him; and he was able, therefore, to be the Redeemer of men from the curse of the divine law. This he has effectually done in behalf of all mankind, who, through his merits and sufferings, stand justified before God. No man can wonder at the prevalence of such opinions among Universalists, when

he reflects on the theology of the country at the time ; and that the opinions of Universalists were an improvement on Calvinism is not to be disputed. Universalism, as then held, removed from the character of God the feature of partiality. He treated all men, in the view of these early Universalists, on like principles. What he did for one he did for all. Such a fact filled their hearts with joy. Universalism has since come to be maintained in different forms, in forms more congenial with the true sense of the word of God ; but let us not forget that no change that has ever since been made has been more important than the first great change brought about by Universalists, which showed all men within the pale of salvation. Men then came to look upon God as a father and as a friend,—as a being of impartial favor, who is good to all, and whose tender mercies are over all his works. This great fact, so new, so striking, so glorious, when it first broke out drew toward itself so large a share of men's attention, it is not to be wondered at they did not see, at the time, that other improvements in theology might also be made,—as in the presence of the sun we cannot see those lesser lights that reveal themselves afterward. So far from wondering that the early Universalists did not discover a greater range of truth, we may rather wonder that they discovered so much. They were in advance of all the rest of the country as to the knowledge of the scheme of salvation. In respect to any human science, has it ever happened to men that a perfect system of truth has been made manifest to their minds at once ? This is scarcely consistent with the laws of the human mind. While men remain on earth

the attainment of knowledge must be gradual. Are there not discoveries in science being made continually, even in our own day? The facts involved in the science of astronomy have been brought out by successive discoveries; and, although it was one of the earliest of all the sciences, yet some of its most important principles had not been known until almost our own times. The great fact that the heavenly bodies do not revolve around the earth, but that their apparent motions are produced by the revolution of the earth itself upon its axis, was not known until the time of Copernicus, nearly fifteen hundred years after the commencement of the Christian era. Theology is a science. It is not to be expected that men can be brought to a knowledge of all its truths at once. Those are mere pretenders who, in our day, would persuade us that by some revelation the whole matter of the divine councils has been opened up at once to their understandings. Christianity, like all other sciences, must be learned; and our Lord himself has told us that men have a growth in knowledge, even after their conversion, which he likened to the growth of grain, which shows first "the blade, then the ear, and then the full corn in the ear." It will be seen, as we proceed, how much agency was exercised by Mr. Ballou in leading the denomination of Universalists from the position in which he found them to the position which they now hold.

SECTION V.—PAST PROGRESS OF UNIVERSALISTS.

But let us inquire what progress had been made in the spread of the doctrines of the Universalists at the time Mr. Ballou commenced to preach. John Murray, who arrived in America not far from the time of Mr. Ballou's birth, had been very actively engaged. He had preached in the Middle States somewhat, but more especially in New England. In 1791 his residence was in Gloucester, Mass.; but he travelled much, wheresoever he felt himself called to preach the gospel. His flock, in the town we have named, had built a meeting-house, which had been dedicated on Christmas day, 1780; and this, if we except the house of Thomas Potter, in New Jersey, was the first meeting-house ever built by the Universalists in the United States. A number of Mr. Murray's adherents were in Boston. They had met, from time to time, in halls and school-rooms; but in 1785 they purchased a meeting-house upon the corner of Middle and North Bennet streets,* formerly belonging to the society of Dr. Samuel Mather, distinguished for his opposition to Universalism. To the Universalists of Boston Mr. Murray had preached, perhaps, more than any other person; but, upon the Sabbaths when he was not present, Elder Adam Streeter had sometimes officiated, sometimes Mr. George Richards, a school-teacher in Boston, and sometimes others. Elder Streeter's labors were cut off by his sudden and deeply-lamented

* The same spot where the First Universalist Meeting-house now stands.

death, in 1786. He had preached principally in the southern parts of Massachusetts, and in the northern towns of Rhode Island and Connecticut. In the early circular letters which were issued by the Convention, we find the following towns mentioned, among others, as places in which the seed of Universalism had been scattered, namely, Attleboro', Rehoboth, Bellingham, Milford, Oxford, Charlton and Sutton, in Massachusetts; Providence, in Rhode Island; Thompson and Woodstock, in Connecticut. These towns had formed the principal field of Elder Streeter's labors, though other preachers sometimes entered the circuit; and, after his death, Thomas Barnes filled his place, in some measure, here. Elder Rich, before named, had preached some discourses, in the early part of his ministry, in Sutton, Oxford and Ward (now Auburn), Mass.; but his field of labor was up among the hills of Warwick and Orange, in Massachusetts, and Richmond and Winchester, in New Hampshire. William Farwell, an affectionate, good man, and Michael Coffin, a talented preacher, but wanting in some essential points of a preacher's character, had broken up the ground and cast in the seed of the divine word, in that section embraced in Clarendon and Pawlet, Vermont, and Whitehall, Granville and Ballston, in New York. In Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a Universalist society had been formed by the converts to the sentiments of Mr. Murray; and Mr. Noah Parker, a man of great integrity and moral worth, had officiated as their preacher, — though he had died in 1787, and the society remained without a pastor until 1793. There were a few Universalists, also, in the towns of Jaffrey, Alstead and Langdon, N. H., where

Thomas Barnes had labored immediately after having been brought to the knowledge of the truth. In the region of Grantham, Warner and Deering, N. H., Joab Young had preached. Hardwick and Petersham, in Mass., had been visited by Messrs. Rich and Lathe, the latter a convert of Rev. Elhanan Winchester. In addition to these towns, there were a very few Universalists known in other places. This brief sketch shows the spread of Universalism in New England at the time Hosea Ballou commenced the work of the ministry.

SECTION VI.—MR. BALLOU'S SENIORS IN THE MINISTRY.

There were at this time not far from sixteen or eighteen preachers of Universalism in all the United States. We proceed to name them. 1. John Murray takes rank first of all, and his biography is well known.

2. Adam Streeter, a convert from the Baptists, who, after preaching Universalism several years, died in 1786.

3. Caleb Rich, also a convert from the Baptists, who labored long in his Master's service, and died in a good old age, in 1821.

4. Thomas Barnes, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile. He had been a member of a Baptist church, but was converted to Universalism about 1782, and lived some thirty-two years after this, to preach and honor the gospel, dying, in 1814, in Poland, Me. He has been called the father of Universalism in that state.

5. Noah Parker was a convert of John Murray. He had been a mechanic in Portsmouth; but, being much

respected for his integrity and love of truth, he preached stately to the society until his death, in 1787.

6. Elhanan Winchester was one of the most popular Baptist preachers in the United States. He was converted to Universalism in 1780, and avowed himself to be of that faith in the year we have named, in the city of Philadelphia. Here he formed a society of fellow-believers, to whom he preached for a few years, when he suddenly left them and went to England, where he was at the time Mr. Ballou commenced his ministry. He was one of the best of men.

7. Moses Winchester was a younger brother of the preceding. He began to preach when he was twenty years of age, namely, in 1783; and soon after his brother sailed for England he went to Philadelphia, to preach to the society there, where he died, in the triumphs of faith, in 1793.

8. Shippie Townsend was a mechanic in Boston. He wrote several books, and occasionally preached. He was an early, steadfast friend of the truth,—a man proverbially honest, who died, as he had lived, a firm believer of the doctrine of the final happiness of all men, about 1800.

9. Rev. John Tyler, of Norwich, Conn., was a Universalist on the plan of Mr. Murray, though he never bore that name. He was an Episcopalian, and probably did not make the doctrine of universal salvation a prominent point in his pulpit instructions. He caused to be published a series of six sermons, entitled "Universal Damnation and Salvation clearly proved by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments." They form a

very interesting defence of Universalism upon the Rellian principles.

10. Matthew Wright was a Dane by birth, and was educated at the University of Copenhagen. Perhaps he had been a Moravian missionary before he came to this country. He had been a Universalist from his early youth, and preached the doctrine, very nearly as it was preached by Mr. Murray, to several of the earliest Universalist societies. We know not where or when he died; but he left a high reputation for purity of heart, singleness of purpose, devout reconciliation to God, and great sweetness of disposition.

11. Noah Murray was not a relative of the celebrated Rev. John Murray. The former was born in Litchfield county, Connecticut, in 1745. After the Revolution, during which he was in the army, he removed to Lanesboro', Mass., where he commenced preaching as a Baptist. By a careful investigation of the Scriptures, he became convinced of the doctrine of universal salvation, and openly declared his convictions to his people. He soon after removed to Dutchess county, N. Y., where he remained but a short time, when he went to Pennsylvania, and settled near Tioga Point. The township was called, after him, Murraysfield. This was in 1790. He preached the "unsearchable riches" of Christ in Pennsylvania and New York. Several times he journeyed into New England, and became acquainted with the Universalist preachers, who esteemed him highly. By them he was induced to go to Philadelphia in 1807, where he remained about two years. He then went back to his farm, where, perhaps, he expected to spend a long and happy old

age; but he was seized, on the 6th of May, 1811, of a very violent typhus fever, and after ten days' severe struggling with the disease he finished his earthly course. His religious opponents hung around his death-bed, and sought to shake his belief; but, like Abraham, he was "strong in faith, giving glory to God." These intruders, thinking they had overpowered him, and hoping to draw out some concession that his faith was weakened, asked him if his faith was not forsaking him. He motioned to his son for a piece of chalk, and, with a hand quivering almost with the struggle of death, he wrote, "*stronger*." After a little while, he wrote again, "STRONGER;" then, resting a few moments, wrote, "STRONGER." *

12. Zebulon Streeter was a brother of Adam, and an amiable and excellent man. He preached Universalism for many years, and was quite a patriarch in the denomination, having served as moderator of the General Convention for many years in succession. He died in Surrey, N. H., in 1808.

13. George Richards, as we have said, had been a schoolmaster in Boston. He preached for the First Universalist Society in that town, in connection with Mr. John Murray, before the latter moved up from Gloucester to Boston, in 1798. Mr. Richards then removed to Portsmouth, N. H., where he remained until 1809, when he went to Philadelphia to take charge of the Universalist society in that place.

14. Joab Young was an ardent preacher, and excited much attention in his day. After preaching in some

* See *Gospel Visitant* for September, 1811; and *Trumpet*, vol. xx. p. 170.

parts of New Hampshire, he finally settled in Strafford, Vt., where, we believe, he died.

15. William Farewell began to preach Universalism early, but the date is not known. He was a very good man, possessed of acute feelings, though he never gave way to anger or resentment. If a cloud passed over him, it was but a passing cloud,—it was soon gone. For many years he received no compensation for his labors, except the satisfaction of doing good. He died in Barre, Vt., in 1823.

16. Michael Coffin was a man of talents, and, for a time, he was useful to the cause of truth; but his sun went down in a cloud.

17. David Ballou. Of him we have spoken in a preceding chapter.

These, we believe, are all the preachers who had been known as defenders of Universalism in the United States at the time Mr. Ballou commenced to preach, if we may except Dr. De Benneville, of Germantown, Pa., and some of the Tunkers in that state. Perhaps, also, we ought to except Mr. Richard Clarke, an Episcopal clergyman, in Charleston, S. C., though nothing was known of him in New England at that time. Of Drs. Mayhew and Chauncey, of Boston, we have spoken in a preceding chapter. All these preachers, we believe, except the two last named, were Trinitarians, and held to the doctrines of imputed righteousness and vicarious sufferings.

SECTION VII.—FIRST DOUBTS AS TO THE TRINITY.

Hosea Ballou's first departure from Calvinism consisted in his being brought to the knowledge of the truth that God will finally save all mankind. This fact, for a time, absorbed all his thoughts. It was a great advance from the doctrines in which he had been educated; but he quite soon began to have scruples in regard to other points. The doctrine of the Trinity seemed to him to be involved in absurdity; he could not understand it; he could not defend it; and, consequently, he could not avoid suspicion that it was false, like the doctrine of endless torment. Still, he was not in haste to renounce it. Perhaps he thought he did not see the true sense in which it is taught in the Scriptures; for, if it were really taught there, he would receive it as a part of God's revelation; and, in that case, he had no doubt that in due time, as he advanced in the divine knowledge, it would appear plain and consistent. But if, after all, it should seem contradictory to the Bible, as well as to reason and to itself, he then would reject it as one of the inventions of men. These doubts and queries pressed upon his mind very soon after he began to preach; and he read the Bible with special reference to these points. He knew how sacred these dogmas were esteemed to be by those who professed to regard them as truths; but they might be errors, after all. At any rate, they were regarded as no more sacred than the dogma of endless misery; and this, he was fully convinced, was opposed to the Scriptures, and was false. A man possessed of a mind like his could

not be satisfied of the truth of any doctrine merely because others believed it, and regarded it to be sacred and evangelical. His mind acted for itself; he was continually engaged in thought; he looked on matters in every form they could assume; he read the Bible for himself. He had little else to read;—in a word, he thought for himself, he judged for himself, he drew his system from the Bible.

SECTION VIII. — FIRST FIVE YEARS OF HIS MINISTRY.

During the first five years of Mr. Ballou's ministry, he was variously employed. The heralds of universal salvation at this time obtained but a small pittance for their services as ministers of Jesus, and they were obliged to seek some means of support. They were not ashamed to labor with their hands. From his earliest boyhood Mr. Ballou had been accustomed to pursue that most honorable of all employment, agriculture. He had always assisted in carrying on his father's farm. While he remained in the family of his brother David, he assisted him in the same occupation, during the summer months; but in the winter he made his time more valuable, and extended the field of his usefulness by teaching school. Wherever a door of utterance was opened, he was ready to preach the gospel, according to his understanding of the oracles of divine truth. The Bible was the man of his counsel; and if others desired to hear him expound it in his feeble manner, he was ready and willing to gratify them, in the hope that he might do some good in bringing his fellow-men to the knowledge of the

truth. He preached in any place to which he was called; sometimes in school-houses, sometimes in barns, sometimes in the open air,—more frequently, perhaps, in private houses, but quite seldom in meeting-houses. So far from thinking this a hard lot, he thanked God that he was prospered so highly. “What was I but a young man, of slight attainments, honored above many others by being permitted to preach in the name of Jesus?” He felt he had cause for gratitude, rather than for repining. If he could collect a congregation of twenty or thirty persons, in some private house, or school-room, who were ready to listen to him, he felt grateful to God for the opportunity of vindicating the divine character against the aspersions cast upon it by the doctrines of men.

There were but few believers of Universalism in those days, and they were scattered over a great extent of territory. Referring to this fact many years afterwards, Mr. Ballou said, while speaking of the death of one of his early friends: “It is almost forty years since I first became acquainted with Mr. Clark. Being then young myself, and there being but a few professed believers in the salvation of all men at that time, to meet with a substantial believer, and to receive his hearty and cordial fellowship, was as encouraging as it was rare. The difference between those times and the present will bear a strong comparison. We now walk among brethren who are constantly multiplying around us; we scarcely let go the friendly hand of one, when another and another is presented, and we see so many that we cannot retain them all in our recollection. Like walking in well-watered fields, where living streams are flowing around us, we

can remember the scenery as a whole, but particular rivulets are not distinctly recollected. But the half-famished wanderer in the thirsty desert, who finds a cooling fountain, never forgets it during his life." * These early professors and defenders of Universalism had need of sympathy and of counsel. The world was against them; the strong influence of the popular clergy was against them; they were looked upon with distrust at least, if not with dislike and hatred. They were marked men, and were supposed to be fostering a religion of a very dangerous character. In those days there were no religious newspapers, to bear through the land every week the tidings of the spread of truth, and to scatter convincing arguments on every side. Under these circumstances, what a quickening did it give the heart of the Universalist to greet a brother of like precious faith, and to hear from his lips the intelligence of the progress of truth in the country at large, and more especially in his own heart! O, what rich seasons of joy were the meetings of the Convention, which brought the brethren together from all points, clergymen and laymen! Here the thirsty soul drank deeply of the waters of everlasting life; and the people returned to their homes encouraged, strengthened, and refreshed.

SECTION IX.—A REMARKABLE DISPARITY.

There was a vast disparity between Universalists and those of the contrary part. The former were very few; the latter were many: the former were weak; the latter

* See *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, vol. v. p. 3.

were very strong : the former had no worldly advantages to aid them ; the latter abounded in such advantages. They had a learned priesthood, who exercised a vast influence over the people. All the colleges in the country were more or less under their control, as well as the wealth of the land, and almost all the civil and political influence. It was indeed a fearful odds ; and had it not been for the fact that *truth* in itself cannot be destroyed, Universalism would have been crushed in the beginning, and there would now be scarcely any remembrance of it. Writing on this subject in 1836, Mr. Ballou himself said (and he remembered well the state of things in the times to which he referred), "Look back at the circumstances of the two contending parties at the commencement of the conflict. But the moment we turn our eyes to this object, we are all but astonished to discover what we there see. Universalism presents itself, in comparison with opposing doctrines, as a drop of water in comparison with an ocean,— as one feeble individual in comparison with numerous legions of veteran soldiers. The disparity between Goliath and David would, to the eye of common observation, appear as nothing, when compared with the inequality between Universalism and its enemies at the beginning of this conflict. In the wide range of history we find nothing that compares with the disparity under consideration, unless we go to the New Testament, and read the account of Jesus coming from Galilee to Jerusalem, to set up a new religion, in opposition to all the religious establishments in Judea and in the world. A learned and an established clergy, whose influence over the minds of men, women and children, was like

the magnet on the needle, or like gold on the heart of the miser, held in their hands the reins of ecclesiastical power, by which they guided the people much more to their minds than Balaam did his beast, who with man's voice rebuked the madness of the prophet. Spiritual pride was enthroned in all the high places of learning, from whence it looked down with the scorn even of contempt on what it pleased to call the vile heresy of Universalism. All the various denominations in the land, who would oppose each other on terms as unfriendly as those which set at difference Herod and Pilate before they united in the work of crucifying Jesus, were ready to act in concert against the despised doctrine of a world's salvation. The iron rod of church discipline was held over the heads of communicants, and the terrors of dishonorable excommunication were flashed in the face of either male or female who might be suspected of entertaining but a faint hope that God would have mercy on all men; while the laws were such that no man could be exempt from paying taxes to the established clergy, without being at the expense of ruinous litigations. But all these formidable terrors were outweighed by the certain loss of the enjoyments of social favors and affections to such as were known to speak in favor of mercy for all men. All the religious books in the land were so many magazines of everlasting condemnation, in which were treasured up the vials of what was called divine wrath; and this constituted the milk which nourished infant minds, served up in the sweetness of verse for children to sing. The Bible was supposed to contain an infinite supply of the

munitions of warfare against what was called the new heresy of universal grace and salvation." *

With such a disparity, how did Universalism maintain its footing at all? Why was it not driven back at once? How could the few feeble and unlearned men who undertook to defend this doctrine, succeed against such hosts of powerful opponents? The answer, the only answer, is found in the fact that truth is mighty, and will prevail against all odds. God sometimes enables one to chase a thousand, and two to put ten thousand to flight. He sometimes chooses the foolish things of this world (that is, those that are esteemed so by men) to confound the wise, and the weak to set at naught the strong. Resting, as Universalism does, on the basis of sound reason, and a rational interpretation of the word of God,—appealing not to the passions, but to the intelligence of men,—seeking no aid from superstition, from prejudice, or pride,—it is impossible that that doctrine should ever have made headway against the force by which it was assailed, had it not possessed an intrinsic power which no false system ever could claim. It was the energy of truth, and, as it would seem, this alone, that carried this doctrine on to victory over the creeds of men. These creeds are fast passing away. The dominant sects may be able to maintain their organizations and their names, but their false doctrines will, and must pass away; and the changes which have taken place since the ministry of Rev. Hosea Ballou commenced, are full proof of this fact.

* See *Trumpet and Magazine*, vol.-VIII. p. 120.

SECTION X.—HIS EARLY TRAVELS AS A CLERGYMAN.

In the course of a year after Mr. Ballou commenced to preach, he left Richmond, his native town, and went down to the southern section of Massachusetts, and also to the northern parts of Rhode Island, the native place of his ancestors. He spent his time while here in preaching the gospel wherever a door was opened, and providing for his maintenance by teaching in the common schools, and sometimes in private schools. He was engaged in this employment in Bellingham, Massachusetts, and in Foster and Gloucester, in Rhode Island. During the summer months he travelled much. Passing from Richmond into Rhode Island, he would be led through a course of towns in the county of Worcester, Massachusetts, as Royalston, Petersham, Hardwick, Brookfield, Sturbridge, Oxford, Charlton; and in almost all these towns there were a few persons who had been converted to Universalism by diligent reading of the Scriptures, and by listening to those heralds of universal salvation who had been Mr. Ballou's predecessors in the ministry. He not unfrequently called at the homes of these persons; and, as occasion required, preached to them, and to their neighbors, gathered together in private houses, the doctrine which he had learned from the word of God. Among the places he visited was a section of Hardwick afterwards incorporated by the name of Dana, where he gained a few strong friends; and the sympathy which grew up between them and the young preacher was the cause, a few years afterwards, of his removing to that

town and becoming a settled pastor, an event which shall be described in its proper place.

SECTION XI.—HIS DOUBTS ON THE TRINITY INCREASE.

But it must not be forgotten that in the midst of these labors, privations and travels, the young preacher was intently engaged in reflecting upon those points in the popular theology, which he had been led to doubt soon after he had embraced the doctrine of universal salvation. He could not see anything reasonable in the doctrine of the Trinity. He always read in the Scriptures that the plan of salvation did not originate with Jesus, but with the Father. Jesus was the servant of God,—his messenger whom he created, nurtured, instructed, qualified, empowered and sent into the world, to do his will. Was it not strange (asked Mr. Ballou) that the sacred writers should hold such language on this subject as they employed, if they believed that the Father and his Son Jesus were one God? He had never read a book, or even seen one, in which the doctrine of the unity of God was maintained, if we except the Bible,—and this he studied very carefully.

He bowed to the authority of that blessed book. He did not believe that there was any doctrine taught therein which, if properly understood, is opposed to enlightened reason; for, if there were any such doctrine, it would not be a revelation. There may be facts in the Bible which are beyond the scope of human knowledge, and which men never would have known had not God seen fit to reveal them; but they are not in opposition to human

reason,—and we find it so when they are made known. The eye, without the assistance of the telescope, is not able to discover many objects which that instrument brings to view; still, when the eye is enabled to discern them, there is nothing in them which is in opposition to its powers. Revelation is to the mind what the telescope is to the eye. This was the view Mr. Ballou took of the matter. He did not believe that any doctrine which was absolutely contradictory to reason could be considered a *revelation*; and hence he very early began to suspect that the dogmas of the Trinity, the atonement (in the popular sense), vicarious suffering, and imputed righteousness, had no real foundation in the word of God. It is true, he knew there were passages therein which had been adduced by very grave and learned men in proof of those dogmas; but he had learned that the Scriptures were sometimes strained to support theories which were solely the inventions of men. This he knew was the case in regard to that soul-revolting doctrine of endless torture, than which no doctrine could be more opposed to the true nature of God. Mr. Ballou suspected, therefore, that a careful and unbiased study of the Bible might bring out the fact, that none of these dogmas were matters of divine revelation; and that the passages of scripture which had been relied on as teaching them, like those which had been supposed to teach the doctrine of endless torture, had been grossly misunderstood. He was too prudent a man, however, to commit himself by any declaration of his opinions, until he obtained full satisfaction.

SECTION XII. — CHARACTER OF HIS EARLY SERMONS.

In this way he went on for the first three or four years of his ministry. He had no Hebrew Bible, no Septuagint, or Greek Testament; and, had he possessed them, they would have been of little use to him; he could not have read them fully. He studied the oracles of God in the common version. He read the sacred books again and again. He compared one part with another. His mind became of itself a concordance. In his habits of extempore speaking, his knowledge of the divine oracles was of vast advantage to him. He remembered the exhortation of the apostle Peter, — “If any speak, let him speak as the oracles of God;” and most faithfully did he seek to obey that command. After two or three years’ experience as a preacher, he became more bold in the proclamation of his opinions; and he felt it his duty to expose with all his power the falsehood, the absurdities, the contradictions, and the evil influences, of certain points in Calvinism. No man ever had a greater power to see and bring forward the contradictory points of any creed in close connection with each other. He could not endure a system whose parts opposed one another. He knew in that case it could not be true. Contradiction, he used to say, was Satan’s cloven foot. Mr. Ballou early contracted the habit of bringing certain points in Calvinism into disrepute, by arraying one part of it against another. In cases like this he would have the full attention of his auditors; and with his bold, severe, but just criticisms, and sometimes with his pungent sallies of wit, he would electrify them all.

SECTION XIII.—HIS DOUBTS FURTHER INCREASE.

He soon came to regard the Redeemer as the Son of God, and not as God himself. The fact stated by the revelator, that Jesus was a *created* being, made a great impression upon his mind.* If a created being, he was dependent on the Father; and his whole life proved that he felt himself to be so. He prayed frequently to his Father, which was a proof of his dependence. He acknowledged God to be his superior. "The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do." — John 5: 19. He acknowledged a superior in wisdom; for he said, "Of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only." — Matt. 24: 36. But not only did he come to suspect that the doctrine of the Trinity was not true; he became also seriously doubtful whether the doctrine of the atonement, as usually taught, was any part of divine revelation. Of one fact he had become fully convinced, namely, that God is essentially good; that he is, and ever was, and ever will be the same, for he is without variableness or even the shadow of turning. God never had any less benevolence towards mankind than he has now. "God is love;" He must then be love to every individual to whom he is God. He is "good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works." † Here was a truth worthy to be regarded as a corner-stone, on which the superstructure of Christian truth should be built up. God being then essentially benevolent, and benevolent, too, to all mankind, the

* See Rev. 3: 14.

† Psalms 145: 9.

question at once arose in Mr. Ballou's mind, What necessity was there for the sacrifice of Christ? It certainly was not necessary he should die to quench the wrath of God. Here he took the first step towards discarding altogether the false notions on the subject of atonement which had been very prevalent in the church. The scriptural doctrine of atonement, Mr. Ballou believed would be found to be perfectly consistent with the essential benevolence of God, whenever that doctrine should be correctly understood. He made this point, therefore, a matter of very deep reflection, and studied the oracles of God with special reference to it. Everything in theology seemed to him becoming new; old things were passing away: his soul swelled with emotions of gratitude and joy.

In the midst of his inquiries, another doctrine came up for consideration, which had been regarded as a very sacred and precious sentiment, but concerning which he began very early to feel strong doubts. We mean the doctrine of vicarious suffering, or the supposed fact that Jesus bore the punishment of the sinner in his own bosom on the cross. Can this doctrine be true? he would ask. Can the sinner be benefited by Jesus suffering the punishment of sin? What good could possibly result from it? From inquiries like these, he proceeded at once to inquire, whether such a doctrine had the support of the word of God. There were passages of scripture which seemed to him to teach it, and he had very frequently heard them quoted. "He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows; he was wounded for our transgressions; he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastise-

ment of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed."—Isa. 53: 4, 5. "He was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification."—Rom. 4: 25. He "died for our sins according to the Scriptures."—1 Cor. 15: 3. At first view, it seemed difficult to explain these texts on the supposition that Jesus did not bear the punishment of sin. But Mr. Ballou was by no means confident that he understood these parts of the Bible correctly. When a passage seemed to him to teach a doctrine contrary to reason, he did not cast the text aside; he did not suspect the correctness of the Bible, but of his understanding of it. He believed, if the whole truth were clearly made known to him, the whole of divine revelation would appear harmonious; and this rule, which he thus early prescribed to himself, he never had occasion to abandon. He made the doctrine of vicarious atonement, or suffering, a subject of very sincere and patient thought. And there was still another dogma, regarded as very precious by the churches, which he came early to doubt,—namely, that of imputed righteousness. It was some time after this, before his views became fully clear on these points; but he had come then to suspect strongly that several of the doctrines which he had been taught, as doctrines of the Scriptures, would be seen not to be sustained thereby, when the sacred writings were correctly understood.

It is worthy of inquiry, whether the thought ever occurred to the young man, that he was fast running away from his seniors in the ministry in his opinions. It is probable that he had not had much opportunity to know what their opinions were, except on the great point of the

extent of salvation. Mr. Murray was a decided Trinitarian, and a high Calvinist on almost every point except the one we have named. The other preachers of Universalism did not differ greatly from him. They had all been Calvinists, and the most of them had come out from Baptist churches. It was no desire for innovation that led Mr. Ballou to doubt the dogmas which his seniors in the ministry believed. His main object was to learn what is truth. He had fully satisfied himself on one point at least, and his inquiring mind was seeking to solve the doubts which had sprung up in regard to others. He felt no obligation to sustain any doctrine which seemed to him erroneous, merely because some of his brethren in the ministry supposed it true.

SECTION XIV.—UNIVERSALISTS IN AND NEAR HARDWICK.

In the north part of Hardwick, as we have intimated, he found a few stedfast friends to the truth,—men much older than himself, who received him joyfully as a preacher of the gospel,—a young man of forcible talents, and of pure character. In a neighborhood here, consisting of adjoining parts of Petersham, Hardwick and Greenwich, the people often gathered together for the purposes of public worship. Among the active men whom the young preacher found in this vicinity, we may name Silas, Stephen and Aaron Johnson, three brothers; Earl Flagg, Joel Amsden, Seth Johnson, John Town, &c. These men had been students of the Scriptures,

and they were possessed of discernment and good sense. When young Mr. Ballou appeared among them, had they looked on things after the outward appearance merely, they would probably have given but little attention to him. He was not clothed, like the preachers of our day, in beautiful broadcloth, with all the elegant accompaniments in dress. He was obliged to wear such a material as the hands of some good countrywoman had woven, and dyed with such colors as could be extracted from the substances at her command. The men who supported Mr. Ballou could look within the outer covering. They were judges of talent and of character; and they recognized the man, whatever the dress might be. Had one of our modern foppish clergymen appeared among them, they would have distinguished between the elegance and richness of his habiliments, and the man himself. Had his mind been empty, or imbecile, or vain, they would have seen it, and their respect must have been withheld in proportion to his wants of the true qualities of a man. The few Universalists of 1793 were men of good sense. It was their clear-sightedness and ability to judge for themselves which brought them out from among the religious world at large, and attached them to the unpopular but glorious doctrine which they loved and defended. It was not because they loved to be separated from their fellow-men that they embraced this doctrine, but because they saw it revealed in the Scriptures, and because they believed it to be a doctrine that agreed with the character of God, and that was fitted to advance the highest interests of man. What other object could they have in view? What earthly advantage did they derive

from being Universalists? It was solely the convictions of their minds, and their love of truth, that made them such.

One of these men, namely, Stephen Johnson, died in 1885. The event carried back the mind of Mr. Ballou to the time of his earliest acquaintance with him, and he gave utterance to his feelings as follows: "With this patriarch in our Israel I have enjoyed the felicity of an uninterrupted friendship and Christian fellowship full forty years. When I was in my youth, and shortly after I engaged in the ministry of the final reconciliation of all men to God through the mediation of his ever-blessed Son, I visited the neighborhood where this friend of God and mankind lived and died. He was then one of the few believers in our faith in that region. Notwithstanding my youth and inexperience, this soldier of the cross took me to his bosom, and, uniting with the small number that could associate, concerted measures to employ me in the ministry for a number of years, during which time he gave to the cause in which I was engaged, and to me, all the support and assistance which his circumstances would justify; and I have ever since enjoyed his kind regards, and the assurance of his steadfastness in the same course of well-doing."* The little flock of which this worthy man was one of the leaders frequently met for public worship. They were not numerous: they had no splendid church, no pealing organ, none of the outward beauties of public worship; but they had that which in the sight of God is prized far above all earthly

* See *Trumpet*, vol. vii. p. 120.

splendor,—a deep love of truth, a fervent gratitude, an undissembled reverence. They worshipped God in the beauty of holiness, and sought instruction from such preachers as from time to time visited them,—for as yet they had no settled pastor. Mr. Ballou's labors were confined to no one town. He travelled almost incessantly in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut, preaching what he believed to be the revealed truth of God, according to the light and ability God had given him.

SECTION XV.—HIS SUCCESS AND WHAT HE TAUGHT.

He had not preached more than two or three years, before he perceived that he was making a decided impression upon the community in favor of the views he had taken. He began to find when previous notice had been given of his appointments, that the congregations which gathered were remarkably large. His labors were sought after. He was listened to with great attention. The subjects on which he delighted to dwell were the parables of the New Testament, and the description given by Jesus and his apostles of the love of God. As occasions required, he expounded those passages of scripture which had been generally supposed to teach the doctrine of endless misery; and he did not "shun to declare all the counsel of God," and "to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints." He believed the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men to be one of the great facts of divine revelation. It was

taught in the promises of God to Abraham, in whom, and in whose seed all "the nations, kindreds, and families of the earth, shall be blessed." * It was taught by the prophets, who asserted, in various forms of language, that every knee shall ultimately bow to God, and every tongue shall confess him as the source of righteousness and strength.† He believed this doctrine was taught by Jesus and his apostles, who asserted that all things shall be drawn to Christ; ‡ that "as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive;" § that "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself;" || that this work will certainly be accomplished, unless it be possible for the divine energy to fail; that Jesus will gather together in one (that is, in himself) all things, and restore, reform, and recover the whole moral creation to God; ¶ that he will "reconcile all things" unto the Father, according to his purpose; ** that unto him every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father; †† that God "will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth;" ‡‡ and that all at last "shall know him, from the least unto the greatest." §§ Believing this doctrine to be an important part of God's revelation to men, Mr. B. felt it a duty to preach it, and to endeavor to impress upon his hearers the duty of living to God, as to a Father,—a being who

* Gen. 12 : 3; 22 : 18; 26 : 3, 4. || 2 Cor. 5 : 19. †† Phil. 2 : 9-11.

† Isaiah 45 : 23, 24.

‡ John 12 : 32.

§ 1 Cor. 15 : 22.

¶ Eph. 1 : 9, 10. †† 1 Tim. 2 : 3, 4.

** Col. 1 : 19, 20. §§ Heb. 8 : 11.

loved them, and who was worthy of their highest love, veneration, gratitude, and obedience.

SECTION XVI.—FIRST INTERVIEW WITH WINCHESTER.

It was during the year 1794 that Mr. Ballou had his first interview with that distinguished man, Rev. Elhanan Winchester. Mr. Winchester had been one of the most popular Baptist preachers in the United States. Previously to 1780, he had been led to entertain doubts of the doctrine of *endless* misery; and he became in the year last named fully convinced of the great truth that God will at last restore all things unto himself. He lost the fellowship of his dear Baptist brethren, but he retained that of his own conscience and of his God. On avowing his belief in Universalism, a society of that faith was formed in Philadelphia, to which he ministered in holy things for six years. At the end of this time he was seized with an uncontrollable desire to visit England; he believed that the finger of God pointed him thither. He was never accustomed to hesitate when such an impression was made upon him; and he accordingly set sail for London, where he arrived, a total stranger and almost penniless, on the 29th of September, 1787. He remained in England for nearly seven years, spending his time principally in London, and laboring incessantly in his Master's cause. He had been married five times; and his last wife, if we may believe half which has been said of her, was a great trial to him. Her conduct drove him from his cherished people in London; and on the first

of May, 1794, he left London for Bristol, from which place he sailed for America on the nineteenth of the same month, and arrived in Boston on the twelfth of July. He repaired immediately to Brookline, Massachusetts, his native place, where he was received with much consideration. Notwithstanding his health was greatly broken up, he still continued his labors in the cause of his Master. "O," said he, "if I had the health and strength I had twenty-four years ago, when I began to preach, I could labor to much more advantage than I ever did." He preached much in the vicinity of Boston, and in the southern part of Massachusetts, as Oxford, Charlton, Brimfield, &c., and in various parts of Connecticut. In September he appeared at the General Convention in Oxford, and was elected moderator, with Rev. Joab Young as clerk. Mr. Ballou was present. There was a very singular incident connected with this session of the convention, which we shall proceed to describe :

Mr. Ballou had given himself wholly up to the work of the ministry. All that he possessed he had consecrated to Christ and his cause,—

"Himself, his powers, his hopes, his youth ;"

and his seniors in the ministry began to perceive, by this time, that he was destined, if his life should be spared, to high usefulness in the Church. He had not sought ordination ; he had never been engaged as the pastor of any society or societies ; ordination was not as necessary to him as if he had been a settled clergyman ; and, although his brethren would undoubtedly have conferred ordination upon him, had he asked for it, he was

not the man to put himself forward. He had preached now about three years. At one of the public services of the convention this year,—probably the last service,—Mr. Winchester preached. He was a man of much warmth of feeling, and great readiness of utterance. Young Mr. Ballou was in the pulpit with him; and, as Mr. Winchester drew towards the close of his sermon, his remarks began to have a clear reference to the service of an ordination, especially to the delivery of the Scriptures to the candidate. He took up the Bible, and, pressing it against the breast of the young man, he said, “Br. Ballou, I press to your heart the written Jehovah!” The effect upon the congregation was sudden and powerful. After holding the sacred volume in this manner for a moment, he spoke to Elder Young in an imperative but affectionate tone, saying, “Br. Young, charge him;” which the Elder proceeded to do. The Delivery of the Scriptures and Charge were then regarded as distinct services. We have frequently heard Mr. Ballou say that he did not know he was to receive ordination until Mr. Winchester commenced the remarks which were peculiar to such a service. The inference may be very fairly made from these facts, that, as early as this day, Mr. Ballou’s fathers and brethren regarded him with much hope, and thought him worthy of the highest honor which they could confer upon him, without any solicitation on his part. Their confidence was not misplaced. His faithful, useful, honorable course, shows that he was worthy of their confidence and love.

SECTION XVII.—HE RENOUNCES TRINITARIAN DOGMAS.

The subjects of the Trinity and Atonement continued to engross his attention. He had looked at the doctrine of the Trinity in every form in which it could be presented, and he could not receive it. He found no such doctrine revealed in the Bible, to which he was accustomed to pay the highest deference. Where did he find Jehovah called the first person in the Godhead? Where did he read of the ever-adorable and blessed Trinity? —of three persons in one God, equal in power and glory? He looked in vain to find the language employed by Trinitarians on this subject. They asserted that the Mediator is really God; that the Godhead consists of three distinct persons, namely, Father, Son and Holy Ghost; that these distinct persons are equal in power and glory, and eternally and essentially one. He found it absolutely impossible to believe this doctrine. It was not only against reason, but it was *against the Bible*. “If the doctrine be true,” he said, “Jesus is the Son of himself, and is his own Father; he is no more the Son of God than God is his son. To say of two persons, exactly of the same age, that one of them is really the son of the other, is to confound good sense. If Jesus Christ were really God, it must be allowed that God really died. Again, if the Godhead consists of three distinct persons, and each of these persons is infinite, the whole Godhead amounts to the amazing sum of infinity multiplied by three! If it be said that neither of these three persons alone is infinite, then the three together, with the

addition of a million more such, would not make an infinite being." Such were some of the absurdities which the popular doctrine of the Trinity presented to the mind of Mr. Ballou. He could not regard such a doctrine as a matter of divine revelation, first, because he found it not taught in the Scriptures, and second, because it was contradictory and clearly repugnant to common sense. He learned from the word of God that Jesus was a created being, the beginning of the creation of God.* He was dependent on the Father, for he could do nothing of himself. † He had a superior in wisdom, for there were facts which he did not know. ‡ That the names "God," "Lord," and "Everlasting Father," are applied to Christ, Mr. Ballou did not dispute; but they do not refer to the self-existent Jehovah, when applied to the Mediator. Christ is said to be anointed above his fellows. Fellows are equals. Who are Christ's *equals*, if he be the very God? Should it be said, the Father and the Holy Spirit are his equals, then Christ was anointed with the oil of gladness above his Father and the Holy Spirit; and this is not only absurd in itself, but it is absurd in another point of view, because one of the main features of the doctrine of the Trinity is, that the three persons in the Godhead are equal in power and glory.

It must be confessed, too, that the popular doctrine of Atonement gave Mr. Ballou no less dissatisfaction than that of the Trinity. He could not believe that God ever burned with wrath towards his creatures. He knew well

* Rev. 3 : 14. † John 5 : 19. ‡ Matt. 24 : 36. Mark 13 : 32.

what the theological doctors had taught upon the subject. He knew it was a true sign of sound orthodoxy to say,

“ I was a rebel, doomed to fire,
Doomed to endure eternal pains ;
He, on the wings of swift desire,
Assumed my guilt and took my chains.”

Many deep emotions of gratitude, perhaps, have been excited by this doctrine towards the loving Son of God, but all at the expense of the Father. The Father was stern and inexorable ; Jesus was compassionate, and

“ He quenched his Father’s flaming sword
In his own vital blood.”

A doctrine which reflected harshly upon the character of the Father Mr. Ballou believed to be untrue. He suspected that it bore marks of falsehood some time before, when he first came seriously to reflect upon it ; but, as he read his Bible more, and understood it more fully, he saw to his entire satisfaction that it could not be true. He saw that the atonement made by Christ was the *effect*, and not *the cause*, of God’s love. “ God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life.” * According to this, nothing is more plain than the fact that what Christ did for sinners was a consequence of God’s love towards them. Again, “ For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.” † According to the popular idea of atonement, Christ stood

* John 3 : 16.

† Ver. 17.

as the proxy of man, and the world was tried in him and condemned in him, and in him suffered the penalty of the broken law. The Father's object in sending his Son into the world was the salvation of the sinner, and not the removing of any wrath or dissatisfaction that existed in himself. This is agreeable to the concurrent testimony of the sacred writers. Paul says, "God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." * The death of Christ being here spoken of as a commendation of God's love to guilty man, Mr. Ballou held that it should be considered as the effect, and not the cause, of that love. Once more, "In this was manifested *the love of God towards us*, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him." † If Christ's coming into the world was a manifestation of God's love to us, this love must have existed before he came, and his coming was an effect produced by it. "Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, how ought we also to love one another!" "We love Him, because he *first* loved us." ‡ God being infinite in all his glorious attributes, he can by no means love at one time and hate the same object at another. His infinite knowledge comprehended all the events of time and of eternity; therefore nothing could take place to remove his love from an object on which it had been placed. God had no occasion to dislike Adam after transgression, any more than he had even before he made him;

* Rom. 5: 8.

† 1 John 4: 9.

‡ Ver. 10, 11, 19.

for he knew as well *then* that he would sin, as he did that he was a sinner after sin was actually committed. The reason why we mortals love an object at one time and hate it at another, lies in the weakness of our understandings; we have not always the same view of the same subject. We may slight an object of great value, its excellences being out of our sight; and we may set our affections on one of no value, by a misjudgment in regard to it. But the Infinitely Wise is subject to no mistakes; he comprehends, at a glance, all the events that can happen to human beings; and loves them, as his own offspring, with a love consistent with his immutable existence. Therefore, it is evident that God was not unreconciled, and of course did not require an atonement to reconcile himself to his creatures.

SECTION XVIII.—HE AVOWS HIMSELF A UNITARIAN.

Such being the convictions of Mr. Ballou, formed after three or four years' diligent study of the Scriptures, and these alone, without any aid from man, he felt it his duty to announce these opinions fully to his hearers. Paul said, concerning the gospel which he preached, "I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." * How truly might this have been said by Mr. Ballou! He had read no books against the Trinitarian hypothesis, except the Scriptures; in fact, there were none to be read. Not a book on this subject, at the time of which we speak, had ever been published in the country; and who was there that would

* Gal. 1 : 12.

be at the trouble and expense to bring such books from England, if there were any there, and send them up into that dark section of the country in which Mr. Ballou lived? The results to which he came were solely the effect of careful reading and prayerful meditation upon the Scriptures. The indirect assault of Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, upon the Trinity, as early as 1765, Mr. Ballou had never heard of. He had never heard of young Mr. Freeman, of the Stone Chapel, in Boston, who had succeeded in introducing a reformed liturgy among the people worshipping there; he had heard nothing of the *supposed* Unitarian clergy around Boston, who, if they really believed in Unitarian views of God, were very careful to keep silence upon the subject.* Dr. Priestly

* Dr. Freeman said of these over-cautious and supposed Unitarians, in the year 1796, "There are others more cautious, who content themselves with leading their hearers, by a course of rational but prudent sermons, gradually and insensibly to embrace the Unitarian doctrine. Though this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces good effects; for the people are thus kept out of the reach of false opinions, and are prepared for the impressions which will be made on them by more bold and ardent successors, who will probably be raised up when these *timid characters* are removed off the stage."—See Freeman's correspondence with Mr. Belsham, of London, in the latter's biography of Theophilus Lindsey. At the day when Dr. Freeman wrote the paragraph above quoted, Hosea Ballou was preaching boldly against the Trinity, and the Calvinistic notion of Atonement, and avowing the doctrine of the divine unity. The Unitarians, *as a sect*, were not known in this country until after the year 1815. The late Prof. Norton, of Cambridge, was one of the most forward to speak out. There had been a struggle, in 1805, in regard to the election of the elder Dr. Ware to the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard University; but no one came out openly in favor of Unitarianism until 1816, and this was brought about almost by accident. Rev. J. S. Buckminster said, in 1809, in a letter to Mr. Belsham, of England: "Do you wish to know

did not arrive in America until about the time Mr. Ballou had reasoned himself fully into Unitarianism. From none of these sources was it possible that he should have obtained the *first hint* even of Anti-trinitarian views. He neither received that doctrine from man, nor was he taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ.

As soon as Mr. Ballou became fully persuaded that the doctrine of the Trinity was no part of divine revelation, and that the common doctrine of Atonement, as held

anything of American theology ? I can only tell you that, except at the small town of Boston, and its vicinity, there cannot be collected from a space of one hundred miles six clergymen who have any conceptions of rational theology, and who would not *shrink* from the suspicion of Anti-trinitarianism in any shape." See *Christian Examiner*, vol. XII. p. 199. In 1812 Mr. Norton, already named, came out with the first volume of the *General Repository*, in which he defended "liberal Christianity." As long afterwards as 1819, when Mr. Norton was elected Professor of Biblical Criticism, Dr. Channing, who was then a member of the Corporation, objected to giving him the title of Professor, through fear it might injure the college to make so conspicuous its connection with one holding such opinions ; but he was willing to assign him the duties and salary of the office. In 1815 broke out the Unitarian controversy, which, we have said, originated in an accident, namely, the unlucky event of a copy of Belsham's *Life of Lindsey* (an English work) falling into the hands of an Orthodox editor in this country. In this work, the private letters of eminent American Anti-trinitarians to their English brethren were published. When these private letters thus became known to the Orthodox party, they at once determined to compel, if possible, the Anti-trinitarian party to avow themselves. The most celebrated controversy that ever took place in this country between the Trinitarians and their opponents, then ensued ; and the Unitarians (as they came afterwards to be called) were compelled, as it were, to come out openly and take their position. We commend to the attention of the reader a very valuable article, from the pen of the late lamented Prof. Norton, on matters embraced in this paragraph, which will be found in the *Christian Examiner* for September, 1849.

by the dominant sects of that day, was false and injurious to man, he did not hide the light he had discovered. His seniors in the ministry were Trinitarians and Universalists upon a Calvinistic foundation; some of them, especially the celebrated John Murray, were deeply attached to such a form of Universalism. There was scarcely, in all America, a man who preached the unity of God and the scriptural doctrine of Atonement. Notwithstanding all these discouraging circumstances, Mr. Ballou proclaimed his convictions; he preached Jesus as the Son of God, and not as God himself, nor the second person in the Trinity; he preached him not as the Creator, but as "the beginning of the creation of God." He declared the love of God to be eternal. He could look back to no time when God did not love men. It was not necessary that Jesus should die to induce God to save men; but his death, on the contrary, was ordained by the Father to manifest the love which God bore to a sinful, fallen race. With the Father originated the mission of Jesus, which was a part of the purpose of God; he was "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;" and the fact that God appointed his Son, qualified him, sent him into the world, endowed with power from on high to execute the divine will in saving rebellious man, was a proof that God was never unreconciled to man. In one word, "*God so loved the world* that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish, but have everlasting life." The whole scheme of salvation originated, not in the love of Jesus, not in his desire to save men from the wrath of the Father, but in the eternal, unpurchased, unchange-

able love of God to his fallen creatures of the human race, who breathed that love into the bosom of the Saviour, and sent him to reconcile these fallen creatures to Himself. In regard to the matters we have mentioned, we give the following paragraph from the late Rev. Edward Turner :

“ The Universalists appear to have taken the lead of other denominations in announcing Unitarian views of the person of Christ, and of the nature of the atonement. Though, as we have said before, the preachers of this order were understood to found their belief on Calvinistic principles, yet there might be some among them who had attained to clearer and more rational conceptions of the sense of the Scriptures in relation to these topics. We can speak of the change in their mode of preaching from memory only. It was not till the year 1795 that we noticed any change at all. Others, it is possible, may have discovered it before. There may have been preachers who electrified and astounded some of their auditors with the announcement of the doctrine of Christ's subordination to the Father, and with the novel idea of reconciliation, as affecting human beings alone. We, however, heard these statements, and the arguments in support of them, for the first time, in the year above mentioned. The preacher, on that occasion, was the author of the ‘ Treatise on Atonement. ’ ” *

SECTION XIX.—INFLUENCE OF MR. BALLOU'S VIEWS.

It was, of course, a work of no small magnitude for so young a man as Mr. Ballou, who had been in the ministry not over five years, to bring over his fathers and brethren to his views. It is not probable that he devoted himself specially to that end, any further than it was promoted by an open, manly, Christian declaration of his

* See *Universalist Quarterly* for Jan. 1849, pp. 12, 14.

opinions on these points, at suitable times, in his public discourses; and by his readiness at all times to answer the questions that might be propounded to him concerning his new opinions. In some cases it was difficult, and in others impossible, for him to convince his fathers and brethren that he was right. The ministers, however, gradually followed him in this reform, until, in the course perhaps of ten or twelve years, the greater part of the Universalist clergy had come over to his views in these respects. "As early as 1805 (said Rev. H. Ballou, 2d) the work may be said to have been completed, though Mr. Murray at Boston, and Mr. Mitchell at New York, still maintained the former views with great strenuousness. But, from this time onwards, the Universalist ministry in this country has, with only three or four exceptions, publicly avowed, and often defended, Unitarian sentiments upon these points, both in the pulpit and from the press." * The senior Hosea Ballou himself said, in November, 1829: "I had preached but a short time before my mind was entirely freed from all the perplexities of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the common notions of Atonement. But, in making these advances, as I am disposed to call them, I had the assistance of no author or writer. As fast as those old doctrines were by any means rendered the subjects of inquiry in my mind, they became exploded. But it would be difficult for me now to recall the particular incidents which suggested queries in my mind respecting them. It may be proper for me here to state one circumstance, which, no

* See *Universalist Quarterly* for January, 1848, p. 102.

doubt, had no small tendency to bring me on to the ground where I have for many years felt established. It was my reading some Deistical writings.* By this means I was led to see, that it was utterly impossible to maintain Christianity as it had been generally believed in the church. This led me, of course, to examine the Scriptures, that I might determine the question whether they did really teach that Jesus Christ died to reconcile an unchangeable God to his own creatures. You cannot suppose that I was long in finding that, so far from teaching such absurdities, the Scriptures teach that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. The question

* Mr. Ballou's evident intent here was to say, not that he imbibed the anti-Bible sentiments of these Deistical writers, but that he was led to see, from perusing what they had written, that the Bible had been greatly misunderstood and misinterpreted. He was convinced that Christianity could not be successfully defended on the ground of the Trinity and the Vicarious Atonement. He suspected that the Bible had been wrested from its proper meaning to support those doctrines; and subsequent inquiries proved to him that he was correct. Notwithstanding this was the natural, clear and manifest meaning of Mr. Ballou, yet we lament to say that Rev. A. Latham, in a paper called the *True Wesleyan*, misrepresented his words, in the following manner:

"Says Hosea Ballou, of Boston, the human father of modern Universalism, 'I had preached but a short time before my mind was entirely freed from all the perplexities of the doctrine of the Trinity, and the common notion of the ATONEMENT.' * * It may be proper for me here to state one circumstance, which, no doubt, HAD NO SMALL TENDENCY to bring me to the ground where I have for many years felt established. It was my reading some DEISTICAL WRITINGS.' See an article by Hosea Ballou in the 'Modern History of Universalism, by Thomas Whittemore,' pp. 476-7.

"Whoever has read Paine's 'Age of Reason' would hardly need to be told by the father of modern Universalism that he was led to embrace it by reading 'Deistical writings.' It is pure Deism itself, in all essential respects."

respecting the Trinity, was by the same means as speedily settled. But I cannot say for certainty in what year I became a Unitarian; but it was long before I wrote my *Treatise on Atonement*.* The *Treatise on Atonement* was not published until 1805. It is fully proved, then, by the testimony of Rev. Edward Turner, as given above, that Mr. Ballou preached openly in defence of his Unitarian views as early as 1795. He probably became a Unitarian in 1794. He has said in another place:

“Our beloved parent had no occasion to dissuade his children from reading books favorable to liberal Christianity, for the very good reason that there were no such books anywhere in our vicinity. My brother David was, for some years, a member of our father's church; but he never preached in public until he embraced Universalism, when he was some thirty one or two years of age. I was not a year behind my brother in embracing this doctrine; but we were both Calvinistic at first. I remained so but a short time, and found it as difficult to convince my elders of the errors of Calvinistic tenets as other people of the error of the doctrine of endless punishment.”†

SECTION XX. — CONVENTION OF 1795 AND 1796.

The General Convention met in 1795, at Bennington, Vt. Mr. Murray, who, about two years before, had removed from Gloucester, Mass., to Boston, and become the pastor of the First Universalist Society in the latter place, was present at this meeting of the Convention, and was elected Moderator. Mr. Ballou was chosen clerk. Here

* See letter to Rev. Thomas Whittemore, published in “*Mod. History of Universalism*,” Boston, 1830, p. 437.

† See *Trumpet*, vol. xvi. p. 116.

he had an opportunity to become further acquainted with Mr. Murray. We think the circular to the churches this year was written by Mr. Ballou. In 1796, the Convention met at Winchester, N. H. Zebulon Streeter was Moderator,—a kind, paternal man, who loved the cause of Zion, and who did all in his power to build it up among men. His anxious eye, it may be, discovered slight clouds of discontent arising at the prevalence of the new opinions; which he sought to dispel. He was a friend of religious liberty, and desired that every man should be fully persuaded in his own mind. "It is true," said he, in the circular of this year, "that different professors of the Abrahamic faith have dissimilar views concerning the modes in which so great a salvation will be individually made known to the purchased possession; but we collectively and separately, seriously, affectionately, meekly, entreat our brethren that they would not give themselves over to vain disputations on the manner in which Jehovah worketh the counsel of his will; rather rest ye contented that God, who hath promised, is faithful to perform; and cheerfully receive all those who are blessed with gifts of edification, however diverse their gifts may be, preferring no one man above his fellow-man, and rendering honor to none, save unto Jesus Christ, the only Holy and the only Reverend."*

SECTION XXI.—MR. BALLOU'S MARRIAGE.

In the fall of 1796, an event took place which had a great influence on all Mr. Ballou's subsequent life,—

* See Manuscript Records of the Convention. The circular was published, but we have never seen a printed copy.

we refer to his marriage. He had made an arrangement to preach at Hardwick (in the part afterwards known as Dana*) as often, perhaps, as once in a month. His residence was to be in that place. Elder Caleb Rich had commended to his attention a young lady of Williamsburg, Mass.,—Miss Ruth Washburn, who was a few years younger than himself. She was prepared, by some suggestion from the well-meaning elder whom we have named, to receive Mr. Ballou's visits with favor; and she once assured the biographer, that when she saw the elder and the young man approaching her father's house, she said to herself, "There comes my future companion." Their acquaintance ripened into that strong attachment which is the surest pledge of happiness in the married life; and they were married in the latter part of September, 1796. The young lady remained at her father's about three months, when, on a winter's day, she entered a sleigh with her husband, and rode to their new home. She was the faithful wife of this man until he died, nearly fifty-six years after marriage. No one who had not seen Mrs. Ballou in her own house,—who had not had opportunities to observe her gentleness, her deep respect and tender love for her husband; her aim to make him happy; to aid him in every work he undertook; to anticipate his wants and gratify them; to train up her children to love and serve him,—no one, we say, who had not opportunities to see these things, could know how excellent a

* Dana was incorporated in 1801, and consisted of parts of Hardwick, Greenwich and Petersham. Mr. Ballou lived in Hardwick, as appears from the records of that town, from which the following publication was taken: "Sept. 11, 1796. Mr. Hosea Ballou, of Hardwick, and Miss Ruth Washburn, of Williamsburg."

wife she was. No description will better fit her character than that given by Solomon of an excellent woman: "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her." * * * "She will do him good, and not evil, all the days of her life." * * * "She openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue is the law of kindness. She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children rise up and call her blessed; her husband, also, and he praiseth her. Many daughters have done virtuously, but thou excellest them all." Thus were opened to Mr. Ballou the joys and responsibilities of a married life. He was settled among a people who deeply loved him, and who delighted to listen to his instructions. His salary for preaching was about five dollars per Sabbath. Much labor, of course, was rendered gratuitously, especially that which was performed on secular days. To gain what to us seems a scanty pittance, he was obliged to travel sometimes to great distances, and always into some neighboring or more distant town three Sabbaths in four. But he lived happily. His wants were all supplied, for he wanted little. His soul was deeply impressed with gratitude to God. These were his rosy days. His heart, his mind, his time, his strength, were all given to the gospel. He saw the pleasure of the Lord prospering in his hand. "The wilderness rejoiced and blossomed like the rose." "Instead of the thorn came up the fir-tree, and instead of the brier came up the myrtle-tree."

CHAPTER V.

FROM HIS MARRIAGE TO HIS REMOVAL TO VERMONT,
SEPT. 1796, TO FEB. 1803.

SECTION I. — LAST INTERVIEW WITH WINCHESTER.

WE have already stated the fact, that Mr. Ballou met the celebrated Elhanan Winchester at Oxford, at the meeting of the General Convention, in 1794. He had occasionally met him after that time, and had enjoyed his society greatly. Mr. W. was a very interesting speaker, and he never was without invitations to visit different parts of the country to preach the gospel. Just before his death, which took place in Hartford, Conn., on April 18, 1797, Mr. Ballou was called to visit that city, where he spent a week. It was a happy opportunity, and this was the last time they saw each other on earth. They discoursed largely on subjects of doctrine, as they spent a week together; and although they found several points on which their views were dissimilar, they agreed to exercise that mutual charity which, being greater than faith or hope, is the bond of perfectness.* It was on account of Mr. Winchester's

* See *Universalist Magazine*, vol. II. p. 198. The subjects on which these two good men differed may have been the doctrines of the Trinity and of Vicarious Atonement, or possibly the subject of Punishment. Mr. Winchester believed in a very long season of severe disciplinary punish-

weakness, perhaps, that Mr. Ballou was sent for, as the death of the former took place soon after. He was a good man, a very popular preacher, and Mr. Ballou highly respected him.

The Convention of this year met in Milford, Mass. The venerable Shippie Townsend, of Boston, was Moderator, and Mr. Ballou was elected clerk. The Milford Records have the following entry: "The Independent Societies from the various parts of the country met at Milford in Association [meaning Convention]. Elder Hosea Ballou preached the forenoon sermon, and Elder Young in the afternoon." Mr. Ballou's subject was the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, which he treated not very differently from the manner in which Mr. Murray had been accustomed to explain it. This discourse produced a great effect, and greatly raised the fame of the young preacher in that town, and, in fact, in all the region round about. Many lively hopes were expressed, that he would make good the place of the departed Winchester; and, if he should outlive Murray, he would uphold the cause after that venerable father was gone.

ment hereafter. Mr. Ballou, it may be, had begun to doubt thus early whether sin was punished by a law of penalty. He believed in the full punishment of sin; but it was not a thing separated from sin itself, and inflicted on the sinner as a penalty. He was beginning to suspect that punishment in the future state would not be inflicted by any arbitrary law for the sins of this life, by which the punishment would be measured out according to the degree of sin that had been committed in this world. If punishment should exist hereafter (as at this time he did not deny), it would be inflicted for sins committed hereafter. This was the form in which his thoughts first verged away from the common doctrine of future punishment. On some of these topics, undoubtedly, he conversed with Mr. Winchester at the time referred to.

SECTION II. — THEME OF MR. BALLOU'S MINISTRY.

The great theme of Mr. Ballou's public labors was the fact of the final happiness of all men. In the constellation of Christian doctrines, this was the brightest star of all. It was "life from the dead" to many in that age. "That one truth, no matter in what form it was presented, cleared away the black mystery, if we may not say absolute atrociousness, from the divine perfections, and shed a serene light over the relations of the Creator with his creatures. At this day we can hardly conceive the sudden change of view, from a God of infinite wrath, and a world of eternal sin and torment, to a Father in heaven who had secured in his unerring administration the final welfare of his entire family. It presented that reconciliation between God and his creation which the moral sense of man, no less than his reason, so imperatively demands. It also satisfied the otherwise unappeasable want in every devout Christian heart, that the Christ to whom it clings should be impartial in his undertaking, and at the same time completely successful in the accomplishment. It answered the prayers of all saints, and gave free breathing to the deepest emotions of praise, which it is so difficult to repress within the limits of an imperfect faith. And, in the blessed futurity which it opened before the whole human race, how many agonies of despair, how many helpless wrestlings with horror, were changed into boundless trust and joy! How much anguish of soul for kindred, or friends, or for mankind at large, into 'the peace of God which passeth understand-

ing.'""* This great and blessed truth through the whole life of Mr. Ballou was precious to him. He believed it to be the doctrine of God, clearly revealed in the divine word, longed after by every pious soul, and needed by all who were in doubt or sorrow. He preached it in his early ministry, and through all his ministerial life. To strike it from the firmament of theology, would be to quench the sun. We should be left in that case in the darkness of eternal night. First of all, in his teachings, then, Mr. Ballou gave prominence to this great truth. He established it by appeals to the Bible, to reason, and to the moral sense of man. If men, being evil, would not tantalize their fellow-creatures, and inflict useless sorrow upon them, how much less would God, our heavenly Father, do so! All other themes were subordinate to this. There were other great doctrines which claimed his attention: as the paternity of God, the relation between God and men, and that which flows from this, the relation of one man to another; the duties which men owe to God and to their fellow-men; all these things formed parts of his teachings. He asserted the utter falsity of the doctrine of endless punishment; he showed that the passages of scripture usually adduced to prove that doctrine were therein misinterpreted; that they were capable of a much more natural interpretation, more consistent with the contexts in which they were found, with the general tenor of the Scriptures, and with the divine character. He taught the unity of God, and the true nature of atonement, or reconciliation, as set forth by our Lord Jesus Christ and his apostles:

* *Universalist Quarterly*, vol. v. p. 92.

There was something in the subject of punishment, too, aside from the fact of its endless duration, which excited his inquiries. He believed that God could and would inflict no punishment upon men uselessly or cruelly; that in every pain he caused them to bear he was seeking their good. Mr. Ballou desired to get a sight into the dark mist which the church had raised over this subject. Even the limited punishment in which he believed did not flow, in his view, from anything malignant in the divine nature. If men should be made free from sin at death, he could not hold that they should be punished thereafter, because they had violated some law of which they must suffer the penalty. He could see no benevolence in following up the sinner with a penalty, because he had at some former time violated a law. If men, therefore, shall be punished after death, he supposed it will be because they will sin after death. His thoughts began thus early to take this shape. It was not, however, until nearly twenty years after this time, that he became fully satisfied that the Bible did not teach the doctrine of punishment beyond the grave. The great fact of the final holiness and happiness of all men swallowed up everything else, in the estimation of the Universalists of that day. They rested contented there. They believed that all other questions that had been raised by Universalists were subordinate to this.

SECTION III.—CONTROVERSY WITH REV. JOEL FOSTER.

In October, 1797, Mr. Ballou commenced a correspondence with Rev. Joel Foster, A.M., minister of the

Congregational society in New Salem, Mass. Mr. Ballou had had no acquaintance with Mr. Foster; but, having been assured that he was a judicious and pious clergyman, a desire sprang up for a useful and friendly interchange of epistles. Mr. Foster had been settled in New Salem in 1779, and consequently had been eighteen years the minister there when Mr. Ballou addressed him. Their callings were alike; but Mr. Ballou was young, and felt the need of instruction; and, if it could be shown that the doctrine he preached was not the truth, he desired to see the evidence. He had enjoyed but small advantages of scholastic learning; he might well, therefore, hesitate to propose a correspondence with Mr. Foster, who was a scholar, over forty years of age, a man of a clear mind, and somewhat used to controversy. Mr. Ballou felt no strength in himself; the world was opposed to the doctrines he preached; his confidence was solely in his cause.

The questions he proposed in his first letter were these:

First. "Is it possible for any being not to answer the final purpose intended by God in his creation?"

Second. "Do the Scriptures teach us that God intended the eternal misery of any of the human kind, or to glorify himself in their endless wretchedness?"

Third. "Was it the mission of Christ to die for and finally save the whole human race?"

Mr. Foster replied under date October 9, 1797. He was not displeased that Mr. Ballou had addressed him. He said:

"This day I received your very unexpected favor of the 4th inst. You are a stranger to me, but I am disposed to believe that your desire for a correspondence was perfectly well meant. The

apparent spirit of candor which characterizes your letter merits the honor of my notice, if it can be thought an honor to you."

After certain preliminary observations, Mr. Foster proceeded to take notice of the first question as follows :

" 'Is it possible for any being not to answer the final purpose intended by God in his creation?' — As a philosopher, or as a divine, I am willing to give you my opinion upon this question, namely, that it is not possible. Nor am I ignorant what inference you will be ready to draw from it. But, before you proceed to make any conclusion from it, you will do well to recollect that philosophers and divines may differ in their opinion of what they call the final purpose of God in the creation of man. Whether it did at all extend to individual actions, and the final appropriate consequences of them, has been much of a question ; or, whether it was merely the purpose of God to make men intelligent and free agents, and to endue them with a strict philosophical and moral liberty. If we agree that the latter was the real and true purpose of God, then the necessary consequence is, that they are capable of working out their own happiness or ruin under such means of probation as an all-wise and gracious Creator should see cause to institute. But, if we suppose the purpose of God extended to and necessitated each individual volition and action, then we reduce men to the condition of mere machines, and throw down all distinction between virtue and vice."

It will be observed that Mr. Ballou's inquiry had respect to the *final* purpose of God. The question in regard to philosophical and moral liberty, or the necessity of each individual action or volition, seems not to have been *necessarily* connected with the *final* purpose intended by God in his creation. Mr. Foster's answer to the second question was given in the following terms :

"I have no objection to your second question, as being a proper theological question, namely, 'Do the Scriptures teach us that

God intended the eternal misery of any of the human kind?' &c. In answer to this, I do not think that the Scriptures say, in so many words, that God intended the eternal misery of some of the human kind; nor do I think it is strictly just and proper to say that it was the antecedent, unconditional intention or decree of God, that any of the human kind, in a *personal acceptation*, should be eternally miserable. But I know of no way to avoid saying that the gospel does threaten eternal destruction, punishment or misery, to certain *characters* of our race, just as our laws and government threaten capital punishment to certain offenders, but do not *antecedently* designate the *individuals* who shall suffer such punishment."

Mr. Foster then proceeded to adduce certain passages of scripture which, in his view, gave support to the doctrine of endless punishment; such as Matt. 25: 31—46, which he called an account of the *final* judgment. He relied much on the same word being employed to signify the duration both of the happiness of the righteous and the misery of the wicked. He referred, also, to Luke 13: 23—28, and 2 Thess. 1: 3—10. "You will remember," said he, "that the question is, whether they (that is, the passages quoted) contain the idea of an eternal punishment for the impenitently wicked. If they do, what has our philosophy to do to qualify the sentiment?"

• As to the third question, Mr. Foster thought it susceptible of a division. That Christ died for *all men* he did not deny; but that all men would be benefited by his death he would not assert, but seemed to hold the contrary opinion. And yet, after all, it is possible he had doubts as to the strictly endless duration of misery. Said he:

"It is very possible that, after all I have had leisure to write, you may still be fixed in the opinion that it is incongruous to

believe God will everlastingly punish any of his creatures, under whatever predicament ; and may still solace yourself in the contemplation that all will be brought to happiness, in some future distant period in the divine economy. I am not authorized to say that such a belief will have any ill effect upon your heart or life ; nor have I any aversion to the doctrine, if it can be found in the holy oracles ; nor am I very solicitous to be convinced of the truth of it, even if it be true, or to preach it to others. If there is to be a chance for the condemned to emancipate themselves from a state of punishment, they will doubtless know it when they come to that state, and to tell them of it beforehand might only abate their awe and dread of divine punishment, — which, in all probability, would be no great service to them."

SECTION IV. — CONTROVERSY WITH FOSTER, CONTINUED.

Mr. Ballou read with candor and attention Mr. Foster's epistle, and on November 2d addressed to him a reply. He commenced by saying :

"To add to the pleasures of this morning, I have the happiness of the reception of your much-wished-for favor of October 9th. I am happy, very happy, that my letter gained your approbation as 'perfectly well meant;' for, notwithstanding any inaccuracy that might appear in my questions, they were in simplicity and sincerity devoted to one whom I considered as an able informant."

Mr. B. believed, without a doubt, that the purpose of God in the creation of man could *not* fail of being accomplished. Mr. F. conceded this. But what was the final purpose of God ? Mr. F. held that the purpose of God was to make men free agents, and to leave them to make themselves happy or miserable by the course they might pursue. To this Mr. B. replied, in substance :

"I cannot conceive that any philosopher or divine could even

have an excuse for believing or supposing that the final intention of the Creator can stop short of the last event which concerns the creature ; for, if so, we must suppose that the Creator has constituted beings for a longer duration than he had any eventful purpose depending."

As it respected the intention and purpose of God, Mr. Foster did not think it just and proper to say that it was the decree of God that any of the human kind, in a personal acceptation, should be eternally miserable. Mr. Ballou intimated that this answer was indefinite, inasmuch as it did not declare whether God did, or did not, *intend* the eternal misery of man. Mr. F. quoted certain passages of scripture to prove the doctrine of endless misery ; but Mr. Ballou remarked that this did not meet the case, because it did not determine the question whether God *intended* them thus to suffer, which was *the* question that had been asked. The question was not, whether men could, or would, by their own impenitence, make themselves endlessly miserable. "It was, whether the Scriptures taught that it was God's will that they should be thus wretched." He then proceeded to explain the passages of scripture which Mr. Foster had quoted in proof of endless misery ; and, although it must be admitted that in some cases he mistook the exact meaning of certain of the texts, and did not explain them as he would have done forty years afterwards, yet he showed that he was a diligent student of the Scriptures, and he said sufficient to take the passages entirely out of the hands of Mr. F. as means of defence of the doctrine of endless misery. As to the words "*eternal*" and "*everlasting*" being applied to punishment, Mr. Ballou said :

“ With regard to what you have said on the duration of the misery of the wicked, which solution you draw from the same words being applied to it as are applied to the happiness of the saints, little need be said, seeing you acknowledge that you are not to be informed that this word is sometimes applied to circumstances and things which are not strictly eternal. I will therefore only give you the criterion on which I try this point. Although this is not to be determined from the bare word, yet we may try it on plain scripture rule. Let us ask, then, Can misery continue any longer than the cause continues? Answer, No. In the next place, Will sin ever be destroyed? or will it endure to all eternity? Answer, ‘Seventy weeks are determined on thee and on thy people, in which he shall finish sin, and bring in an everlasting righteousness,’ &c. Now, let us ask, What is the cause of the happiness of saints? Answer, Righteousness, even that of Christ. Now, observe, he *finishes* sin, which is the cause of misery, and brings in everlasting righteousness, which is the cause of happiness. Now, as it is impossible to prove that righteousness will ever come to an end, the happiness of saints will continue. ‘Because I live, ye shall live also.’ Although I consider this point fairly investigated, yet I will remind you of one text, which in itself is conclusive to this effect, — Rev. 21 : 4, ‘And there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain,’ ” &c.

Mr. B. contended, further, that his third question was not answered. Mr. Foster acknowledged that Christ died for all men, but he did not answer directly whether it was his mission to *save all*. Mr. Foster had said there were two questions involved here; to which Mr. B. replied, “Then most certainly they each deserved an answer. Observe (he says) whether to die for, and finally save, were both in the mission of Christ, is but one question.”

• Mr. Ballou then proposes three other questions, namely,

First. "Did God know from eternity each event which would take place in time, even containing the idea of each volition and action of his creatures?"

Second. "Was it ever possible for anything to fail of being which God, with an absolute knowledge, knew would be?"

Third. "Did the Father send his Son into the world to die for those who it was impossible should be saved?"

Thus Mr. Ballou concludes his epistle; and, in a postscript, he entreats Mr. Foster, who was a learned man, to pardon whatever he might see imperfect in the style of his communication,—a remarkable proof of the simplicity and meekness of his heart.

When Mr. F. came to reply (under date of November 17th), he acknowledged the kind character of young Mr. B.'s letters, by saying, "You excel in compliments, the want of which you will excuse in my returns at this period of a correspondence upon sacred and religious subjects." Mr. F. had begun to grow uneasy under the effect of this controversy, and used language which politeness required should have been omitted. As we are aiming, however, to give only the leading points, we shall pass other matters over. Mr. Foster claimed that he had given fair and full answers to all three of Mr. Ballou's questions. As his second letter adds no light to his first, we pass over it without further comment. In regard to the three last questions given by Mr. Ballou, he answered as follows:

Whether God foreknew each event, he said, "I know not."

Whether it was possible for anything to fail of being

which God, with an absolute knowledge, knew would be, he answered "Yes."

Whether God had sent his Son to die for those who it was impossible should be saved, he answered "No;" and these monosyllables were all the answers he vouchsafe in this letter to give.

His third letter was dated November 23d, and it is principally taken up in showing that the interpretation which Mr. Ballou had given of the passages that had been brought forward in proof of endless misery was not correct. The matter was important in itself; but, as we did not introduce Mr. Ballou's interpretations, we omit the reply. Mr. Foster, in his turn, proposed two questions:

"1. Do you believe there is any moral difference between virtue and vice, or any difference but in name only?"

"2. Do you believe in any punishment at all after this life?"

"Be assured (says the old gentleman, softening his tone) I do not consider anything in your letter as intentionally disrespectful to me; I wish you to view mine in the same candid light."

SECTION V. — CONTROVERSY WITH FOSTER CONTINUED.

Mr. Ballou replied in two letters, the first dated December 5th. As Mr. Foster had uttered a sharp word concerning Mr. Ballou's illiterateness, the latter said, "I would inform you that my previous knowledge of and acquaintance with my own ignorance and illiterateness forbid my thanking you for that information; yet I can

but feel myself agreeably entertained with your open frankness on that subject." He further said :

" If I concede [agree] to your answer to my two first questions, I must suppose that the doctrine of universal salvation, which you seem to set so little by, is a truth ; for, if every man answers the final intention of his creation, and the Deity intended none for eternal misery, or to glorify himself in their endless wretchedness, he must intend their everlasting happiness, or to glorify himself in their endless felicity."

There is a slight manifestation, in the following extract, of a trait that afterwards became a striking characteristic of Mr. Ballou's mind, namely, a readiness to defeat an opponent from his own positions,— to annihilate his theory by the effect of his own premises.

" I confess myself somewhat confounded in what you have written on my third question. There you represent it was *not* the *intention* of Christ in his mission to save all men. And then you observe that some will *thwart* the design of his mission, and be disowned, &c. Sir, if Christ did *not* intend to save all men, and those whom he did *not* intend to save should *thwart* his intention, they might by that obtain salvation."

Mr. B. then proposes another question, and closes.

" I close this epistle by stating one question for your solution :

" Can we rationally believe in an infinite Being, and not believe he hath perfect knowledge of whatever will take place in his universe !"

Mr. B.'s next letter was dated January 13th, 1798. He replied in a brief manner to the objections Mr. Foster had made to his interpretation of certain passages of Scripture. As we did not follow Mr. Foster on this point, for want of room, so neither shall we follow Mr. Ballou.

We may, however, quote one brief paragraph. Mr. Foster had claimed that the passage he had quoted from the close of the 25th chapter of Matthew was not a parable. Mr. B. said :

"You observe that I call the last paragraph in Matthew twenty-fifth chapter *the parable* of the sheep and goats. Right, — I do ; and you cannot be more astonished at that, than I am at your saying you see no parable in it. Observe verse 33, — 'And he shall set his sheep on his right hand, but the goats on his left.' Is there no parable here ? Are *goats* to go into everlasting punishment, and *sheep* into life eternal ? or are righteous and wicked persons here represented ? If so, then we have found *a parable*."

In regard to Mr. Foster's two questions, namely, 1st, "Do you believe there is any moral difference between virtue and vice, or any difference but in name only ?"

Mr. Ballou said, "Your first question I answer, **Yea**. And that is my opinion, if I understand the question."

2d. "Do you believe in any punishment at all after this life ?"

On this subject Mr. B.'s opinion at that time was not fixed. As he was requested to say whether he believed in any punishment after this life, and not being fixed in his opinion, he answered in *the negative*, for the purposes of the controversy. A spirit of candor, sincerity and meekness, are visible through all this controversy on the part of Mr. Ballou, which evidently disarmed Mr. Foster of some of his severity. Mr. B. was not at this early day fully aware of the wariness and caution of disputants and sophists. He wrote right on, and spoke, at the moment, what his conscience dictated.

Mr. Foster did not reply to the last-named letter until August following. He added nothing to the effect of his arguments in his former letters. He held, he said, that men could not thwart the purpose of God in their creation. This purpose, in his view, was not to make them happy or miserable distinctly speaking, but to make them *free* moral agents, capable of originating their own volitions; to place them under such means of probation as were most wise and proper for their trial, and finally to judge them according to their works. This was the real and *ultimate* purpose of God. In Mr. F.'s view, God desired nothing beyond this; and, therefore, God had a definite purpose concerning man, and that purpose might not be frustrated; and yet all men might not eventually be saved.

In regard to the question touching the divine foreknowledge, Mr. Foster replied to Mr. Ballou as follows:

"I have long been established to my own satisfaction,—that is, I believe upon a conviction which satisfies my mind,—that God knew everything from eternity, in the full latitude of your question. In this, however, I differ from some great and good men, and therefore would not be too positive. It is a question which involves greater difficulties, perhaps, than we at first imagine, whether it be possible for God to foreknow the infinite variety of contingencies which must result from the exercise of human liberty. I do, however, believe the affirmative; but I wish you to remember that I do not believe that this knowledge of God ever made any particular event or act of a free agent certain or necessary, but was rather grounded on the certain futurity of the event. This led me to answer your second question, in the letter of November 2d, in the affirmative. For, though things do turn out, or take place, according to the knowledge of God, yet it is not in consequence of any necessitation, and therefore I

scruple not to say that the contrary was equally possible in a moral construction. If this be not the truth of the case, then every act which we are wont to consider as highly criminal must be justified by an antecedent necessity."

Mr. Foster was not satisfied with Mr. Ballou's answer to the question, "Do you believe there is any moral difference between virtue and vice, or any difference but in name only?" To this Mr. B. had answered in the affirmative, expressing, at the same time, a doubt whether he fully understood the intent of the question. Mr. F. had understood Mr. B. to teach that man was a *mere machine*; and he felt somewhat disappointed, therefore, at his answer. But it was Mr. B.'s answer to his second question which above all roused Mr. F.'s zeal.

"My second question, namely, whether you believe in any punishment at all after this life, you answer in the negative. It is not easy to express my surprise at this, when, at the same time, I find by your second letter that you profess religiously to believe that the Scriptures are a divine revelation. I think, sir, no doctrine of scripture is more frequently, fully, and explicitly asserted than that of the future punishment of the wicked,—that is, their punishment after death and the resurrection. They shall awake from their sleep in the dust of the earth,—that is, from death,—to shame and everlasting contempt.

"'All that are in their graves shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and shall come forth; they that have done good to the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil to the resurrection of damnation.' These are the words of Christ, and who shall dare to contradict them! That there is a place of torment, into which the wicked will be cast after death, is evident from what is said of the rich glutton, that in hell he lift up his eyes, being in torment. And our Saviour explains the parable of the tares thus: 'As therefore the tares are gathered and burnt in the fire, so shall it be in the end of this world. The

Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom *all* things that offend, and *them who do iniquity*, and shall cast *them* into a furnace of fire: there shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth. Then shall the righteous shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father.' This, sir, is an explanation, and therefore undoubtedly given in plain and proper language, which needs no qualifying.

"It would be a wearisome task to transcribe so great a part of the New Testament as would be in point, and serve to teach you that you ought to believe in the future punishment of those who die impenitent, and under the habit, the power and the pollution of sin.

"I am sensible that Origen, of the third century, and some other ancient fathers, doubted the strict eternity of this punishment. I have given you my opinion upon this point in my first letter. I am not authorized to say, from anything which I can see in the Scriptures, that the evidence of the duration of the sinner's misery and saint's happiness is not strictly parallel. And though I should agree with Archbishop Tillotson (if I recollect his sentiments aright), that we cannot from hence demonstrate that God will not remit some part of this threatened punishment, yet I think, till we can demonstrate that he will do this, we ought to be very cautious how we dispense with his threatenings, and abate the sinner's dread of those punishments which a holy God may justly inflict, and which, for aught we know, may be literally eternal! When I have said this, sir, you will easily guess what alarm my mind takes at the propagation of an opinion that there is to be no such thing as punishment after this life. This is opening every avenue to vice; this is removing the last restraint from those who are lost to all sense of gratitude and ingenuity; it is letting loose the most flagitious and corrupt to revel in all manner of wickedness and moral profligacy!

"I do not plead that the fear of punishment is the noblest motive to virtue, — I think far otherwise; but it is, perhaps, the only motive which will keep its hold on the minds of certain classes of men, with whom the pure motives of love and gratitude have lost their influence. Far be it from me to applaud that line of

preaching whose only rhetorical flowers are the images of terror, and which clothes the great Father of the human race in robes of vindictive wrath and vengeance. I contemplate and adore him as the kind parent and moral head of the intellectual and social system, whose perfections are stamped on all his works, who delights to diffuse the greatest happiness among all his creatures that he can consistently with the nature and dignity of his government, who is not chargeable with the misery of any man, but has adopted every wise method, not inconsistent with that liberty which is essential to the nature of man, to prevent our debasing ourselves, and falling under the influence of those capricious and corrupt passions and habits which must unavoidably render us wretched in proportion to the predominance and power they have over us."

SECTION VI.—CONTROVERSY WITH FOSTER CONTINUED.

The next letter of Mr. Ballou was dated on Oct. 2d, and, on account both of its brevity and importance, we shall here give it entire :

"SIR: I received your very kind epistle this morning. I have perused it with attention; and, though I am much in favor with your candor, and believe you have given the recited passages of Scripture their due as well as the clergy in general do, yet I find it too difficult to consent to all you have written on them. However, I have no ambition in these matters, or at least would not wish to indulge any.

"If you recollect, sir, in the little opportunity which we had on the road,* I observed to you that I answered your question that I did not believe in future misery, because it was a matter in which I was not established, and could not say I *believed* that in which I was not established.

* They had fallen into company, on a certain occasion, when both were on their way to the town of Orange.

"I am now satisfied in the idea of a future state of discipline, in which the impenitent will be miserable.

"With regard to the doctrine of *agency*, and that of *machinery*, I feel not in the least tenacious; but I would observe that, in reason alone, I find it difficult to oppose the system of strict fatality. But how to reconcile all parts of the Bible to that system, I think is more than enough for my abilities. }

"As I have given you the idea of future punishment, I think it not proper to debate your ideas of particular passages of scripture, wherein you suppose they refer to that state; though I might think that those passages had not so particular an allusion to that idea as many others have.

"As some of my letters contain thoughts which I am unwilling to contend for in public, you will excuse me if I am unwilling to publish them.

"I thank you, sir, for indulging me thus far with your letters. And, as you express a reluctance to spend time in controversy, you will not feel disagreeable at my giving the idea of future punishment, which puts an end to that part of our inquiry. There is no point of doctrine on which I want your mind so much as on this question. Is the misery of man to be endless? or, can it not be proved from scripture that mankind will, universally, be reconciled to God in some future period, and therefore be happy? If you will be so kind as to pardon what errors you think you see in what I have written, and write to me on this particular, you would greatly merit my thanks and attention to what you write, which I doubt not would be of service to me. If you see cause, sir, to write to me on the above-mentioned subject, or any other, as your good judgment may think proper, I, on my part, shall pay due attention, and write to you as the subject may demand. I am, sir,

"Yours, with respect,

"Hardwick, Oct. 2d, 1798.

"HOSEA BALLOU.

"MR. JOEL FOSTER."

This letter is deserving of very serious attention. It shows the artlessness, the simplicity, the meekness of

young Mr. Ballou. He had turned to Mr. Foster as to a man of learning, of age, and of experience. He had probably heard of him as a clergyman of rather liberal sentiments in religion; for it is evident that Mr. F. was no Calvinist. Had he lived until the Unitarian controversy broke out, he would probably have sided with the Unitarians. He was undoubtedly a man of very respectable acquirements, and could not have had a cordial fellowship for the theology of President Edwards, and the divines of his school. He seemed to have had a hope that the doctrine of endless punishment might perhaps not be strictly true at last; not because God had not threatened it, but (as Archbishop Tillotson had supposed) because he had the power to remit his threatenings, if he so willed. This was distinctly Mr. Foster's ground; and it may have been understood, in the vicinity, by the people at large, that he was more liberal than many of the clergy. Mr. Ballou went to him, therefore, somewhat as to a friend. He told him, in his first letter, that he had heard of his character "as that of a judicious and pious clergyman." He added, "I, being young, have need of the assistance of those who are more learned and experienced than myself." We are then to regard Mr. Ballou, in this controversy, as a young man seeking after truth; who, although he had embraced and publicly defended a system of religion, yet was he not so wedded to it that he would not abandon it, if convinced that it was false. He had had small opportunities of education. It is true he had been engaged as a teacher of youth in the common schools; but spelling, reading, writing and the first principles of arithmetic, were all

the studies then pursued in those schools. He had had very slight opportunities to acquire a good style of composition. In the great truth which he preached, he had strong confidence.

As it respects the question of future punishment, he was not then decided. Consequently, when Mr. Foster called on him to take a position, and asked, "Do you believe in any punishment at all after this life?" he replied in the negative. We understand him here to have meant, not that he was fully satisfied on this subject; but, as he was called on to take a position, he should, for the purposes of the controversy, answer the question negatively. He would not say he believed that in which he was not established. Yet it must be confessed that the arguments of Mr. Foster on this point had some effect upon his mind. He was led to think, for the time, that there would be "a future state of discipline, in which the impenitent will be miserable." He confessed it, in all simplicity; and here we see a trait in his character which shone distinctly through his whole life, namely, a readiness to avow what he believed, without reference to the consequences which the avowal might bring upon himself.

In regard to the doctrines of free agency and necessity,* he did not wish to press these subjects tenaciously upon Mr. Foster's attention. They are subjects which have always been involved in very great difficulty. Mr. Ballou had found it difficult to oppose the system of

* In this controversy, Mr. Ballou called it the "doctrine of machinery," for Mr. Foster had said that Mr. B.'s system "reduced men to the condition of mere machines."

strict fatality on the ground of reason; but how to reconcile all parts of the Bible to that system he did not then fully know. For these reasons, and also because he had taken ground on one question, at least, only for the purposes of the controversy, he was not willing that it should go out to the public; for he was not willing to avow, as his sober conviction, everything he had said in the course of it. Mr. Foster, however, had different feelings, and insisted on the publication.

It had been difficult for Mr. Ballou to learn, from what Mr. Foster had said, whether he did or did not believe in the final happiness of all men. He pressed this question again upon him — “Is the misery of man to be endless? or, can it not be proved from scripture that mankind will *universally* be reconciled to God in some future period, and therefore be happy?”

Mr. Foster wrote but one more letter, which was dated October 25th. He seemed somewhat at a loss to know why Mr. B. should avow his faith in a future disciplinary punishment; and turned upon him at once with the question, if he allowed the doctrine of future punishment at all, how he knew it would be *disciplinary*, and not strictly *penal*. “Our Saviour and his apostles,” said Mr. F., “evidently represent the future miseries of the wicked as being *final* and *penal*.”

In regard to Mr. Ballou’s final question, whether the misery of man will be endless, or whether it cannot be proved from the scripture that mankind will at last universally be reconciled to God, Mr. Foster gave Mr. Ballou no further satisfaction than he had given him before. In fact, he *could not* consistently with his theory. He

evidently did not see the true sense of the sacred writings, and hence he knew of no way to avoid saying that the gospel (the system of good news) does threaten eternal misery to certain characters of our race. And yet, he would not be sure that this "eternal misery" will certainly be inflicted, for he cherished a hope (after the example of Tillotson) that God would remit the threatened penalty. He did not stand up boldly to defend the doctrine of never-ending punishment. "I have," he says, "already informed you that I have no aversion to the doctrine of final restitution, if it can be found in the Bible. Nay, it may perhaps be an office of charity to hope that *it is true*." But this hope he thought must be very cautiously expressed. He was afraid that he should, if he confessed such a hope, deliver men from their fears of the divine wrath.

Such was the general character of Mr. Foster's valedictory letter. He did not desire Mr. Ballou to reply to it, for he said at the close, "I do not put these questions with any design to exact a particular answer from you, but to give a useful turn to your private reflections upon the subject we have had under consideration."

Mr. Ballou, however, did reply; and we regret to say we have not been able to obtain a copy of his concluding letter. Mr. Foster published the whole controversy; but the last letter was torn from the only copy we have ever seen, and here, therefore, we must conclude our description. Mr. Foster evidently had a desire to publish the letters, and under his superintendence solely they were brought out. Mr. Ballou did not desire they should be published; he had not written with a view to publica-

tion; he had taken certain grounds for the sake of this controversy only; he had had no opportunity to correct his letters for the press, which he surely should have had. Mr. Foster was evidently desirous to bear off a palm, although he was a man advanced in life, and Mr. Ballou was a "young man," and an "unknown character." It is, indeed, possible that Mr. Ballou wrote more than one other letter, and some, too, that Mr. Foster refused to publish. But on this point we assert nothing, for we know nothing.*

SECTION VII. — SINGULAR AFFAIR AT BOSTON.

Mr. Ballou, as we have shown, had become a decided believer in the unity of God, and the subordination of Christ to the Father. These facts Mr. Murray had learned, and perhaps had made them a subject of conversation among his special friends in Boston. On a certain occasion, in 1798 or 1799, he made a journey to the south, as far as Philadelphia. While he was absent, Mr. Ballou was employed to preach ten Sabbaths in the pulpit of the First Universalist congregation. On the last Sunday of this engagement, in the afternoon, he

* The pamphlet bore the following title: "A Literary Correspondence, between Joel Foster, A.M., Minister of the Congregational Society in New Salem, and Hosea Ballou, an itinerant preacher of the sect called Universalists. In which the question concerning Future Punishment, and the reasons for and against it, are considered. Printed at Northampton (Mass.), by William Butler, 1799." The insertion of the word "literary" in the title-page by Mr. Foster was intended as a reflection upon the character of young Mr. Ballou's style; and it shows Mr. F. was not fully satisfied that he had annihilated Mr. Ballou by his arguments, and he therefore sought to try the effect of sneers.

took occasion to call up the passage 1 Cor. 15: 26—28, in which Jesus is spoken of as delivering up the kingdom to God, the Father. Mrs. Murray, by the way, believed that the Son who is to deliver up the kingdom to the Father was the “Son of perdition,” and that God would finally succeed in getting the kingdom out of his hands. Mr. Ballou believed that it was the Son of God, who would deliver up the *mediatorial* kingdom to God, when he had brought all things into subjection to himself, and God should then be ALL IN ALL. Mr. Ballou did not desire to oppose the sentiments of Mrs. Murray; but it came out, of course, that he believed that the Son was the Son of God; and that, as the Son was to deliver up the kingdom to the Father, he himself could not be the Father. The sermon was received with extraordinary attention throughout. The concluding prayer was offered, and Mr. Ballou arose to read his last hymn. Mrs. Murray (who, by the way, was a most uneasy spirit) had employed the time of the concluding prayer to beckon a Mr. Tirrell to her pew; whom she despatched to the singing-seats, to request Mr. Jonathan Balch, who sat there, to give notice that the doctrine which had been preached by Mr. Ballou on that afternoon was not the doctrine which was usually preached in that house. Just as Mr. Ballou arose to announce the hymn, Mr. Balch, to the great astonishment of the congregation, broke forth from the singing-seats with an annunciation in substance as follows: “I wish to give notice that the doctrine which has been preached here this afternoon is not the doctrine which is usually preached in this house.” Mr. Ballou listened attentively to Mr. Balch’s remark, and,

after saying, "The audience will please to take notice of what our brother has said," proceeded to read the hymn, which was sung. The people were indignant at Mr. Balch, who had so unnecessarily disturbed the congregation, and treated Mr. Ballou with rudeness. A meeting of the parish committee was called, by the sexton being sent round to notify each member thereof before he left his pew; and that committee, in company with a number of the leading members of the society, waited on Mr. Ballou in the evening, and apologized for the coarseness and indecorum of Mr. Balch, and stated that the congregation decidedly disapproved what he had done. In the old meeting-house it was customary always for a part of the congregation to pass out through the vestry, on the back of the house; and, as they passed, some of them exchanged thoughts with some warmth on the subject of Mr. Balch's interruption, and generally in condemnation of it. Such were the facts in regard to Mr. Balch's proclamation against Mr. Ballou's opinions. It was a matter of Mrs. Murray, and of Mr. Balch, as her instrument; but the congregation at large were chagrined and wounded by the transaction, and the committee took immediate measures to assure Mr. Ballou of this fact.*

SECTION VIII. — CONVENTIONS OF 1798 AND 1799.

Mr. Ballou took so lively an interest in the General Convention of Universalists, and was so careful to be present at every session, that it seems necessary to take

*For a full account of these matters, and the testimony of Father Ballou to the correctness of this account, see *Trumpet*, vol. xx. p. 150.

notice of the meetings of that body. In September, 1798, it met at Hardwick, the place of his residence. All traces of this meeting are lost, except the one fact of the place where it was holden. He, of course, was present, and probably the gathering was a large one for that day. But it is useless for us to offer any conjectures,—this is a book for *facts*, not for speculation.

The General Convention, in 1799, met at Woodstock, Vt., and Mr. Ballou was present. He was elected Moderator. There were but few preachers present. The best account of this meeting which has ever been published may be found in the Memoirs of Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, from which we take the following paragraph :

“ I shall not attempt to describe the sensations I experienced on approaching and entering the house of worship, for it would be impossible. It seemed as though light beamed in matchless glory from above, and heaven had thrown wide open its portals of beauty ! The words of the speaker were like a precious healing balm to my soul. There were but three preachers present, — our venerable father, Hosea Ballou, now living in Boston, Mr. William Farewell, and Mr. Walter Ferris. Both of the latter have long since been numbered with the congregation of the dead. Mr. Ballou preached, and one of his discourses was on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, and it swept away the last vestige of doubt and darkness from my mind. I followed the clergymen around as closely as possible, so as to catch every word — ventured into the council-chamber, in the intermission, where they, together with many other friends, were assembled, and where, also, the excellent choir, led by the celebrated teacher, Mr. West, performed several excellent pieces adapted to the occasion ; and the preaching, and the singing, and the social converse, so enraptured my soul, that, young and bashful as I was, I could hardly refrain from crying out, in the language of the

celestial messenger, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men.' And I really felt as the entranced disciples did at the transfiguration of the Saviour, 'It is good for me to be here.' And my astonishment was excited beyond measure, when I came to look around among the attendants who thronged the room, and saw several of my acquaintances, who appeared as happy as myself, and whom I had supposed to be violently opposed to the doctrine; and to whom, consequently, I had never dared to express a thought, after I became favorably impressed with a belief of its truth." — pp. 55, 56.

Mr. Stacy further said :

"I now felt myself in a new world; and, although among old acquaintances, surrounded by new friends, bound together by stronger ties than I had ever before experienced. This meeting had a very happy effect in this country. Besides its tendency to lead many into the belief of the truth who had never before entertained a favorable opinion of it, and to establish those who were wavering, it brought together congenial minds, and introduced them to an acquaintance with each other, which served to strengthen and embolden them in the cause, to extend their influence, and enlarge the sphere of their action; by which means the cause of divine truth advanced with greater rapidity.

"An incident occurred at this meeting, which, I think, is worth recording, because it shows the bitterness of spirit which actuated the opposers of this great salvation, and the effect of a calm, dignified, and fearless perseverance in the spirit of kindness. I was not an eye-witness, but I was told of it; indeed, it was a subject of common observation and remark, and had a very salutary effect upon the reasonable part of community, for it led them to make a comparison between the influence of the two doctrines. The friends of Universalism had applied to the proper authorities for the use of the Court-house for the meeting, and obtained their consent; and the doors were accordingly opened. But the sheriff of the county, one Rice, a bigot, with-

out religion, as his character too plainly testified, undertook to frighten them away, by placing himself before the door with a drawn sword in his hand; no doubt thinking that the importance of his office, and a little blustering, would break up the meeting. But, at the appointed hour, the clergy, with Mr. Ballou at their head, walked deliberately to the house, and, as they approached the door where this wonderful majesty of law had placed himself and was flourishing his broad-sword, Mr. Ballou, with his wonted urbanity and pleasantness, addressed the little man in the language of the Saviour: 'Peter, put up thy sword into his place,' and walked by the shame-smitten sheriff into the house. I was told that he hung down his head, and, without uttering a word, walked off to his house, probably with a less exalted opinion of his own importance than when he placed himself at the Court-house door." — p. 57.

On leaving Woodstock, on the last day of the session, at the close of service, Mr. Ballou stopped to deliver a discourse in Reading, Vt. He had but an hour or two at his command, as he must proceed on his journey some distance that night, in order to enable him to fulfil his appointment for the following Sunday. The brethren from Reading, who had been at Woodstock, had returned and circulated the news of his coming. Among the crowd who had come together, was one of the deacons of a Baptist church, and he was very desirous to ask Mr. Ballou a question.

"Are you," said he, "the Mr. Ballou who is to preach here this afternoon?"

"I am," replied Mr. B.

"Well, Mr. Ballou, I understand you are in a great hurry, but I must take time to ask you one question. Mr. Ballou, what do you think of the case of a man who

should go out of the world cursing and swearing, and calling on God to damn his soul?"

Mr. Ballou had but a moment that he could devote to the man, and he said, "Why, deacon, a profane swearer is a very, very wicked man, no doubt; and do you think God *will* answer the prayer of so wicked a man as that?"

"No," said the deacon, "I am *sure* he will not."

"Well, deacon," said Mr. Ballou, "you have answered your own question;" and he passed into the house, where the people were waiting for service to begin.

One of the most important effects resulting from Mr. Ballou's visit to this Convention was its bringing him acquainted with many of the Universalists of the central part of Vermont. Here he saw, for the first time, a preacher whom afterwards he deeply loved, Rev. Walter Ferris. A large number of people came to this Convention from the neighboring towns, and some from places quite distant. Mr. Ballou's sermons were the great attraction of the occasion. He had never been in the State of Vermont before this visit, except to some few of the most southern towns. The people, especially the Universalists in the region about Woodstock, could not forget this Convention. They had an earnest desire to procure, if possible, the removal of Mr. Ballou to that section of country,—an event which happened in less than four years afterwards, as we shall show in the proper place.

SECTION IX. — UNIVERSALISM IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the year 1800, Universalism had advanced somewhat from the position which it held at the time Mr.

Ballou commenced to preach. There were about twenty preachers, known to be Universalists, of all grades of talent. These lived in New England, and had the fellowship of the Convention. There was at this time a society of Universalists who owned an unfinished meeting-house in Philadelphia. There was also a society in New York, who had built a house of worship. Mr. Murray resided in Boston, as the pastor of the Universalists who had purchased the meeting-house that had been previously occupied by Rev. Dr. Samuel Mather's society. At Gloucester there was quite a flourishing congregation, who had built a house of worship as early as 1780, which was the earliest Universalist meeting-house, built expressly for the use of those bearing the name of Universalists, in all the United States. There was a society at Portsmouth, N. H., possessed of a small house, and here Rev. George Richards was located. The doctrine had extended, in 1800, but little into the interior of New Hampshire, being principally confined to Portsmouth, and to the towns of Chesterfield, Richmond, Winchester, and Langdon. In Vermont there were a few Universalists in the vicinity of Bennington, where the General Convention once held a session; and some scattered in different places further north, and three or four preachers resided in the state, who were very assiduous in their itinerary labors. Massachusetts took the lead as to the number of preachers and believers, but even here they were "few and far between." The doctrine had prevailed somewhat in the counties of Suffolk, Essex, Bristol and Norfolk, and slightly in Franklin; but in Worcester county more than in any other. Near the

southern line of the last-named county, as in Milford, Grafton, Oxford, Charlton, Sutton and Ward; and further north, as in Brookfield, Dana [the place of Mr. Ballou's residence, not incorporated as the town of Dana until 1803], and in Hardwick and Petersham, believers were to be found. In Rhode Island the doctrine was little known and understood, except in Providence, where there were a number of Universalists, without a pastor or a meeting-house. Mr. Murray had preached in different parts of Connecticut, and probably had made some converts; but they were scattered, and were not organized into societies, neither did they have opportunities to hear the gospel preached according to their own faith. There were a few believers in Thompson and Woodstock, others further down in Preston and Norwich, and others in Wallingford, west of the river. In the great state now known as the Empire State there was but one society, and that in the city of New York. All over the United States, not here described, you looked in vain to find any who were known as Universalists, who had formed themselves into societies. No doubt there were a few believers of the doctrine of Universalism scattered in different places, but they were unknown to each other. There had been an organization of a Convention attempted in Pennsylvania, but it did not meet with success, except for a few years. The General Convention of the New England States was the nucleus of Universalism. It did much good; it brought the brethren, both clergymen and laymen, into acquaintance and connection with each other. As by bringing together a body of coals you cause them to

kindle and glow, so the annual meetings of the brethren increased their zeal and love of truth. The meetings of this body became occasions of great public gatherings of the people, and by the sermons which were preached they were comforted, and instructed, and built up in the faith. No public body ever formed in the United States exercised so great an influence for the promotion of Universalism as this. During the year, when absent from each other, the preachers labored in their respective circles.* Mr. Ballou seemed never tired. He had good

* The following is the hymn for the annual meeting of the brethren, written by Mr. Ballou. It shows the subjects on which their minds dwelt, and the consolations which they imparted to each other, and which the gospel imparted to them all. We believe the hymn was not written, however, until a few years after A. D. 1800.

“Dear Lord, behold thy servants here
From various parts together meet,
To tell their labors through the year,
And lay the harvest at thy feet.

“In thy wide fields and vineyards, Lord,
We’ve toiled and wrought with watchful care ;
Thy wheat doth flourish by thy word,
Thy love consumes the choking tare.

“The reapers cry thy fields are white,
And ready to be gathered in ;
The laborer shouts, with sweet delight,
This is the day to finish sin.

“Ripe clusters on the vines appear ;
We’ve flagons too of richest wine ;
O, come, dear Saviour, meet us here,
And crown the banquet all divine !

“O, bless us while we here remain,
With holy love thy servants fill ;

health, great strength; and, as Universalism was the moral atmosphere which he breathed, he lived and moved and had his being in it.

SECTION X. — CONVENTIONS OF A. D. 1800 AND 1801.

Although Mr. Ballou was the settled pastor at Dana, yet his ministry was by no means confined to this place. He preached there once in four weeks, and spent the rest of the Sabbaths in places more or less distant. His fame was far-spread by this time. He occasionally went to Vermont, and, perhaps, more often to Cape Ann, to preach to the society left destitute by the removal of Mr. Murray to Boston. And after Mr. B. had discontinued his regular visits to these more distant places, he preached in the towns of Brookfield, Charlton, Oxford, and Sturbridge, Mass.*

O, may thy doctrine drop like rain,
And like the silent dew distil !

“ While we attend thy church’s care,
O, grant us wisdom from above ;
With cautious steps, and humble prayer,
May we fulfil the works of love ! ”

* *List of Universalist preachers in the fellowship of the New England Convention at this time.*

District of Maine.

Rev. Thomas Barnes, Poland.

Massachusetts.

Rev. John Murray, Boston ; Rev. Hosea Ballou, Dana ; Rev. Edward Turner, Sturbridge ; Rev. Caleb Rich, Warwick ; Rev. Ebenezer Paine, Williamsburg ; Rev. James Babbitt, Dana ; Rev. John Foster, Taunton ; Rev. Zephaniah Laithe, Grafton ; Rev. Joshua Flagg.

The Convention of 1800 was holden in Orange, Mass. Mr. Ballou was present, and was elected clerk; Rev. George Richards, of Portsmouth, Moderator. It was at this meeting that letters of fellowship were granted to Miles T. Wooley, Edward Turner, Joshua Flagg, Edwin Ferris, Edmund Pillsbury, John Foster, and Samuel Mead. Mr. Turner became a very distinguished minister in the denomination. In the following year, the Convention met at Swanzey, N. H., when Rev. Zebulon Streeter was appointed Moderator, and Rev. George Richards clerk. Rev. Thomas Barnes, who had at this time removed to Poland, Me., or to that vicinity, visited the Convention.* Three new clergymen received letters

New Hampshire.

Rev. Zebulon Streeter, Surrey; Rev. David Ballou, Richmond; Rev. Edmund Pillsbury, Northwood; Rev. George Richards, Portsmouth.

Vermont.

Rev. Joab Young, Strafford; Rev. C. G. Parsons, Windsor; Rev. William Farewell, Barre.

Connecticut.

Rev. Miles T. Wooley (town not known); Rev. Solomon Glover, Newtown; Rev. Samuel Smith, Salisbury.

New York.

Walter Ferris, Paulingstown; Edwin Ferris, Paulingstown.

It will be observed that Gloucester, Mass., is not put down as having a preacher. Mr. Murray removed from that place to Boston in 1793; and there was no settled Universalist preacher there until the pastorship of Rev. Thomas Jones, which commenced in 1804.

* It may be that Mr. Barnes lived at New Gloucester. The Pearce family, of Gloucester, Mass., owned lands in the District of Maine, and it was at the suggestion of Col. William Pearce that Mr. Barnes removed to that part of the country. Perhaps he had a small gift of land. He began to preach in the ministry of universal grace about the year 1784 or 1785, at which

of fellowship. Mr. Ballou did not preach at this session. It was holden somewhat near the place of his residence, and several senior brethren were present to whom the respect was due of giving the people an opportunity of listening to their instructions.

SECTION XI.—MR. BALLOU DIFFERS FROM MR. MURRAY.

Mr. Ballou occupied his leisure time in the study of the Scriptures. To him the Bible was the "all in all" in matters of doctrine, precept or righteousness. He remembered the injunction of the apostle, "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God" (1 Peter, 4:11), a passage which had great weight with him as long as he lived. We have shown that, by his own study of the Scriptures and deep reflection, without aid from

time he resided in the State of Vermont (or, perhaps, in Jaffrey, N. H.). Four years after this, he removed to Oxford, Mass., where he remained two years; then, having an invitation to labor in word and doctrine in Connecticut, he resided in Woodstock, preaching alternately in several towns in that state, in Rhode Island, and in Massachusetts. In 1799, he came to Poland in the State (then District) of Maine, and was ordained over the united societies of Norway, New Gloucester, Falmouth, and Gray, to whom, and to brethren in the neighboring towns, he continued to preach about sixteen years, when he died. As a preacher Mr. Barnes was more instructive than eloquent; though, from the mild music of his voice, the simplicity of his manners, and Christian candor, he was heard with patience and satisfaction. The general testimony of the aged hearers who outlived him was, that "he was a good man and a sound reasoner." He dwelt much upon the "infinite perfections of God, the impartiality of his promises, the difference between the law and the gospel, or the first and second covenants, and the certain accomplishment of God's original purpose, in the redemption of the human family."—See a sketch of the *Life of Rev. Thomas Barnes*, in the *Christian Intelligencer* of 1824.

any earthly commentator whatever, he had come to the full conclusion that the doctrine of the Trinity and the popular doctrine of Atonement are unscriptural and false; and these conclusions he had avowed to the congregations whom he had addressed, and to his ministering brethren. This was a wonderful change to be brought about in the mind of a young man who had been educated strictly a Calvinist, without a book to guide him, or friend to advise him, the Bible excepted. Such is the force of education, that he was like a man in a mist, who was obliged to see things indistinctly; they were all obscured by the thick atmosphere in which he had lived and breathed. By steady watchfulness he had discovered that some things, which he had before thought realities, were merely phantoms,—and he had said so. But could it be expected that a mind even like his would see everything correctly at once? The notions of Murray, Winchester, Rich, Richards, and others of his seniors in the ministry, in regard to the nature of man, to our connection with the first Adam, and with the law given on Mount Sinai, probably had some effect on his mind. He does not seem to have been perfectly clear on all these subjects at this time. He was seeking more light; he was not confident that he had the whole truth; he did not see everything so clearly as to put him perfectly at ease. He sought to “*grow* in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”—2 Peter, 3: 18. Nevertheless, he had departed so far from the system of Mr. Murray as to cause that highly-beloved father in the ministry some anxiety. It was not Mr. Ballou alone who had created these painful forebodings in the

mind of Father Murray. There were others, even before Mr. Ballou had entered the ministry,—strange geniuses, that gave certain wild and fanciful interpretations to the word of God. In fact, Mr. Murray cannot be considered as having kept *himself* entirely clear from such applications of the Scriptures. But it has ever been the case with the best of men, that, however much they may differ from others without pain to themselves, they cannot suffer their juniors to differ from them without feeling grieved by the circumstance. Father Murray undoubtedly looked upon Mr. Ballou as a very bold young man. He had heard of his rising popularity; but the fact of his denying the Trinity, and vicarious suffering of Christ, was truly alarming. Nevertheless, he could but have a high regard for him; he regretted most deeply the young man's departure from the true ground of Universalism, as he himself viewed the matter. Mr. Murray had a kind heart, a social nature; he was the subject of very deep emotions, and not always the same in his feelings. While he could bear with great patience and serenity contradiction, and even abuse, from men who opposed Universalism, it was difficult for him to endure even slight differences of this kind from those who had professed to receive that doctrine.

In his personal intercourse with Mr. Ballou (for which there could not be frequent occasions, as they could not often see each other), Mr. Murray was sometimes very pleasant, and sometimes slightly otherwise. At the time of one of the pleasant moods, Mr. Ballou was at Mr. Murray's house in Boston. They fell into a conversation concerning the parable of the sheep and the

goats, in the twenty-fifth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel. The sheep, as Mr. Murray held, were mankind, and Christ, as the good shepherd, came to save *the sheep*. The goats were angelic sinners, the fallen angels; and, in the great day of judgment, or separation, the sheep, the human race, shall be separated from the goats, the devils, who shall no more have dominion over the sheep; and thus all mankind shall be saved.* Mr. Ballou had departed from this interpretation, if in fact he ever believed it. He held that the sheep were the believers in Christ, who hear his voice and do his will; while the goats were the unbelievers, standing in their legal character, who were cursed in Christ when he stood in our law character, being made a curse for us.† As we have said, the two fell into a conversation respecting the true interpretation of this parable. Mr. Murray went over the parable and explained it to the young man, maintaining that the sheep were the human race, and the goats were the devils, while Mr. Ballou sat and heard him very patiently. When the former had concluded, Mr. Ballou said, in a very quiet and seemingly inquiring manner, "Father Murray, those who were on the left hand of the throne were accused of not having visited the sick. Do you think (he asked) that it is so desirable a thing to have *the devils* visit the sick, that they will be condemned to everlasting punishment for having neglected that duty?" This completely overturned Mr.

* See Murray's Works, vol. i. 134, 159, 268, 313, 358; vol. ii. 59—67, 235.

† "Notes on Parables," first edition, p. 50.

Murray's theory of the parable; and we see not how any other form of words, so laconic as this, could have done it so effectually. On hearing the question, Mr. Murray rose from his chair, walked across the room, breathed a sigh, and the conversation was closed.

The ten Sabbaths which Mr. Ballou had spent in Boston, during Mr. Murray's absence, had given the Universalists of that town an opportunity to become better acquainted with him than they ever had been before. The congregations, while he preached, were certainly not diminished at all; and he was regarded by many of the congregation as an extraordinary man for talent and knowledge of the Scriptures. He was at this time thirty years of age. Several individuals, who had been much impressed with his talents, his eloquence, his opinions, and the clearness with which he stated and proved them, suggested to him, if he would remove to Boston, and become the pastor of a new society, they would at once proceed to erect a house for him. But his decision was instantly formed. "I cannot," said he, "do anything to injure Brother Murray, nor the beloved society to which he ministers." And he expressed the hope that the subject might not be mentioned to him again.

Rev. Noah Murray, whom we have mentioned in another place, used occasionally to visit Boston. He was not a relative of the Rev. John Murray, although he bore the family name. On a visit, about 1801, Mr. Noah Murray fell into conversation with Mrs. John Murray, in regard to the interruption made by Mr. Balch, at the time Mr. Ballou preached to the congregation at

Boston. Mrs. Murray repeated to her visitor the interpretation which Mr. Ballou had given to the passage, 1 Cor. 15 : 24-26,—“Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority, and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death.” “And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.”—Ver. 28. In the view of Mrs. Murray, the Son, who was to deliver up the kingdom to God, was the Son of perdition, from whom, she said, the Christ, the God-man, should wrest the kingdom, and put down all rule, and all authority and power; for he must reign until he hath put all enemies under his feet. Mr. Noah Murray listened very attentively, but was far from being convinced of the truth of Mrs. Murray’s interpretation. He ventured to suggest to the lady that the natural sense of the passage seemed to be that which Mr. Ballou had given it; and it manifestly showed that Jesus, the Christ, was subordinate to the Father. This only inspired Mrs. M. the more, to insist that the Son who was to deliver up the kingdom to God was the Son of perdition. The pertinacity of the lady disturbed a little the accustomed patience of the listener, when he ended the conversation by ejaculating the words: “O, strange blindness in the people of this age, that they are not able to distinguish the Son of God from the devil!” *

* Mr. John Murray says, on 1 Cor. 15 : 28, “It is impious to suppose that this Son to be brought into subjection was Christ Jesus. Was

SECTION XII.—MR. BALLOU'S LABORS REVIEWED.

The General Convention of 1802 was holden in Strafford, Vt. The venerable Zebulon Streeter was appointed Moderator, and Rev. Hosea Ballou clerk. This was a session of more than usual importance. Mr. Ballou was called on to preach one of the sermons of the occasion, namely, the last sermon of the last day. Up to this time, the Convention had had no form of faith, except the Bible; but at this meeting a motion was made by Rev. Walter Ferris, at the request of the societies of which he was pastor, that a committee be appointed to form a plan of faith and fellowship, for the better union and edification of the brethren. It was a delicate matter to do; there were differences of opinion among the clergy. At the head of the committee was placed the venerable Zebulon Streeter, and then, in the order here preserved, Revs. George Richards, Hosea Ballou, Walter Ferris,

Christ Jesus, in his individual character, ever in a state of rebellion? Yet we are told, most *irreverently*, that at the final consummation of all things we shall behold a universe of *Deists*, for Christ Jesus shall be brought into a state of *subjection*; but such conclusions can only be formed by those who have never learned, or who have forgotten, that the characters Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are merely designed as an accommodation to our limited understanding, and are but various exhibitions of the same one eternal God." Yet Mr. Murray did not suppose that the Son who was to be subject unto the Father was the "Son of perdition." It was "the offspring of God, the human family, which was first exhibited in the singular character, in which character they sinned, and in which character they must be saved." This was the Son that was to be made subject. It was for this reason, he thought, men were required to have "a *single eye*."—Matt. 6 : 22. See his Works, vol. III. 277—279.—

and Zephaniah Laithe. The committee were instructed to report at the next session of the body. They doubtless made the subject a serious matter of contemplation, during the year. Universalists had been much opposed to "human creeds;" and it was to be expected, if this new form of faith should be adopted at all, it could not be done without a quite serious opposition.

Mr. Ballou's labors as a settled pastor in Massachusetts were soon to close. Dana (or Hardwick, as the name then stood) had been his central point. He had travelled much during his residence in that place. The Rev. N. Stacy (then a young man) speaks of this period as follows:

"I also travelled with him to his appointments, very generally, that I might enjoy the benefit of his private conversation, as well as his public discourses; for he had now done riding to Vermont and Cape Ann, and his circuit, if I mistake not, was wholly confined to the county of Worcester, in the towns of Dana, Brookfield, Charlton, Oxford, Sturbridge," &c.*

* See Life of N. Stacy, p. 70.—Mr. Stacy had previously said, "Very soon after I took up my residence in Dana, I became familiarly acquainted with Mr. Ballou. Mr. Amsden and he were great associates, their residences a short half-mile apart; and when Mr. B. was at home they were often together. Mr. B. made frequent calls at the store, which gave me an opportunity of seeing him, and hearing him converse; his social, affable habits made him an agreeable companion for all with whom he associated, both young and old; and I soon felt myself easy and happy in his society. But he was at home only during a moderate proportion of his time. His ride, at that time, extended from Barnard, in Vermont, to Gloucester, on Cape Ann, upon the Atlantic; and he performed it, if I rightly recollect, once in two months, preaching often, perhaps nearly every day, at intermediate places. His residence was nearly in the centre of his circuit, so that he supplied the desk in Dana as often as once a month."

This brief paragraph will show how extensive had been the labors of Mr. Ballou during his residence at Dana. From that town he had gone out in almost every direction. He usually travelled on horseback. The journey from home to Cape Ann and back would occupy a week, for he could not reach the latter place in less than three days. If we add to the time thus necessarily consumed in travelling to his regular appointments his visits to other places, we shall see that he must have been absent from his own fireside a large share of the time. From the removal of Mr. Murray to Boston, in 1793, to the settlement of Rev. Thomas Jones in Gloucester, in 1804, the Universalist society in the last-named place was destitute of a settled pastor, which was the occasion of Mr. Ballou's frequent visits to that town. As we now approach the period at which he removed into the State of Vermont, we look back to see how faithfully he had been engaged in the duties of the vocation to which his Master had called him. During the first five years of his ministry, namely, from 1791 to 1796, he had no fixed abiding-place. He had friends in different places, who were ready to receive him and administer to his temporal wants; and he availed himself of their kindnesses, as, in the course of his travels, he came to the places where they lived. Immediately after beginning to preach, he spent some time with his brothers, working at manual labor to earn an honest livelihood. When his labors were called for more frequently, and he therefore was obliged to travel, manual labor was given up necessarily. He went from place to place, preaching the gospel wherever he could find persons to hear, either in Massachusetts, in Connecti-

cut, or in Rhode Island, the scenes of his earliest labors. In the winter he would take a district school, and in this manner obtain his board, and add five or six dollars per month to his resources. He had prepared himself for the performance of such a duty by the little learning which he had picked up at home, and by spending a short term at an academy, not far from the time when he commenced to preach. Such were the duties of the first five years. His great desire was to preach the gospel. This absorbed every other wish or hope; it was a part of his very being. He felt that a dispensation of divine truth had been committed to him; but he took no glory to himself; he did not become proud and vain; he was thankful when the people came to listen to his words. He met them in any place where it was most convenient for them to assemble,—seldom in a meeting-house, but more frequently in school-houses, court-houses, dwelling-houses, barns, and, if need be, in the open air, beneath the shade of some grove or orchard. It was not an uncommon thing to hold a meeting in some country house, which the good husband, sometimes aided willingly by his wife, would set in order for the occasion, by arranging benches and chairs upon the entire area of the floors. The preacher would take his position at the head of the long kitchen, with a small table and Bible before him, to which a hymn-book was added, if any persons were present who were accustomed to sing. Some preachers would lead off the singing themselves; but this Mr. Ballou never could do. The table was always placed as near as possible the door that led into the other rooms; and in this way the speaker addressed the people in the

different apartments as one congregation. Around the outside of the house would be a large gathering of horses and carriages, the animals being safely tied to the fences and trees; and clusters of heads, glistening with eager eyes, were seen at the windows, which in the summer-time were thrown open. These were often seasons of profitable religious instruction and high spiritual joy. Thus were spent the years of Mr. Ballou's ministry, until his removal to Dana; but it must be confessed that several of the characteristics here described marked his course almost as long as he lived. When he became a settled clergyman in Dana, and afterwards in other places, he did not wholly give up his itinerant habits, but pursued them so far as the practice was consistent with the engagements to the people of his charge. Like Mr. Murray, he believed it was his duty to meet the calls made upon him from different parts of the country, so far as other duties would allow; and this he continued to do to the last year, and we might almost say to the last week, of his life. He felt truly the spirit which actuated the apostle, when he said, "Though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel."—1 Cor. 9: 16.

CHAPTER VI.

MR. BALLOU'S MINISTRY AND LABORS IN VERMONT.

SECTION I.—A CLUSTER OF UNIVERSALISTS.

EVER after Mr. Ballou had attended the Convention at Woodstock, Vt., in 1799, the fathers of our cause in that region had been exceedingly desirous to have him remove thither. It was not because they wished to deprive the brethren in Dana and vicinity of his services; but because they believed that, having sowed the seed so widely in that region, he might now well be spared to remove to another place,—a field equally large, perhaps larger,—which was in great need of cultivation. His ear was open to their application. These brethren resided in Barnard, Bethel, Bridgewater, Woodstock, and Hartland,—a cluster of fine towns, that lay between the range of the Green Mountains on the west, Connecticut river on the east, the White river upon the north, and Black river upon the south. The state of religion in these towns was much like what it was in other parts of New England at this time. Calvinistic Congregationalists were by far the most numerous. Calvinism was the prevailing form of theology; and God seems to have raised up the Universalists to make the first inroads upon it. The Baptists, who had begun to spread in this state,

were all of the Calvinistic class; Methodists, and other Arminian sects, were, at that time, little known there. Barnard was fixed upon as Mr. Ballou's location, which had Bethel upon the north-west, Bridgewater upon the South, and Woodstock and Hartland within convenient distance. Of the individual Universalists in these towns at the day of which we speak, no distinct accounts have come down to us. Our late venerable Father Caleb Keith resided in Barnard. Capt. George Simmons (we know not in which of the towns he lived) was both active and liberal in sustaining the cause of Universalism.* In the society at Woodstock, Dr. Stephen Powers (father of Dr. John Powers), Deacon Benjamin Emmons, and William Perry, of Pomfret, were the leading men and original members. The elder Dr. Powers was once a Calvinist; but, when he emerged from the darkness of that religion into the broad light of Universalism, it seemed to him he had entered a new world. He felt it his duty to

* Capt. George Simmons died at Stow, Vt., on March 26th, 1825, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was composed and reconciled to the will of God, patiently enduring all his pains through his sickness. About forty-eight hours before his death he said, "O that I could fall asleep in Jesus!" He was asked if he felt confident that it would be well with him after death; and his answer was, "Yes; to be gone and to be with Christ would be far better than to stay here." He held out unshaken in his former opinion concerning the goodness of God; that his tender mercies are 'over all his works; that the promise made to Abraham will be fulfilled; that the whole human family will be made ultimately holy and happy.—See the epistle written by his widow to Rev. Hosea Ballou, at the time of his death, *Universalist Magazine*, vol. vii. p. 3, June 25, 1825. She gave full expression to the desolateness of her feelings at the beginning of the letter:—"Rev. Sir, I am left alone—I am desolate and afflicted. It has pleased God, in infinite wisdom, to take from me my companion in life. My bosom friend is removed by death."

avow his new faith, and do what he could to build it up ; and when he left the Congregational society, of which he was a pillar, it greatly weakened it. He was grandfather to the celebrated Hiram Powers, the sculptor.

SECTION II.—PREACHERS IN VERMONT IN 1803.

Without the mention of others, the reader will judge, from what has been said, of the character of the men who invited Mr. Ballou to settle in Vermont. He moved to Barnard in February, 1803. Of the Universalist preachers that were in that state at the time of his removal, let us here speak. Rev. Joab Young was at Strafford,—a man of some influence in his early life. Rev. Walter Ferris had charge of the Universalist societies in Charlotte, Hinesburg and Monkton, three towns near Lake Champlain, a few miles south of Burlington. Rev. C. G. Parsons was residing at Windsor ; Rev. Wm. Farewell was about to remove to Barre ; and Rev. J. Babbitt was appointed to be ordained at Jericho. Such was the number of Universalist clergymen in Vermont when Mr. Ballou removed there. Universalism had spread somewhat ; as much, perhaps, from the effect of its own reasonableness, and agreement with nature and Scripture, as from the talents and labors of the early preachers whom we have here named. Mr. Ferris was a good man, and a man of talents ; but he lived only a few years after the time of which we here speak. Mr. Young was a man of specious appearance, and a somewhat popular preacher ; but he impaired his influence by indiscretion. Mr. Farewell was a truly amiable and excellent man ; but he was

beloved more for these qualities than for the force of his talents. Mr. Parsons and Mr. Babbitt, at this time, could not be considered as having more than a slight influence. It ought to be mentioned, in this connection, that Rev. Caleb Rich removed about the same time from Warwick, Mass., to New Haven, Vt.*

SECTION III.—MR. BALLOU'S ORDINATION IN VERMONT.

Mr. Ballou was not ordained at Barnard until Sept. 1803, seven months after he had removed into the state. It is true he had been ordained by the Convention at Oxford in 1794; but it was thought best, in order to settle all questions as to the validity of his ordination under the laws of Vermont, that he should be ordained with due forms in that state. The order of exercises upon the occasion was as follows, and was appointed by

* See Memoir of Rev. N. Stacy, p. 77. — It is certain, we think, that Rev. Joab Young, of Strafford, was the first Universalist clergyman ever settled in Vermont. We think he moved there as early as 1800. Rev. Walter Ferris was ordained as pastor over the united societies in Charlotte, Hinesburg and Monkton, on the first Thursday in January, 1801. Rev. Cornelius G. Parsons, of Windsor, received the fellowship of the Convention in 1801. Rev. J. Babbitt was ordained at Jericho, on the third Wednesday of January, 1803. Rev. Samuel Hilliard received the fellowship of the Convention in September, 1802. Rev. Caleb Rich was ordained at New Haven, in January, 1803. He had been ordained twenty years before, at Richmond, N. H. (his residence thus early was in the adjoining town of Warwick, Mass.). But, as the clergy of the Congregational order were disposed to make Universalist preachers trouble, and especially to dispute their authority to solemnize marriage, the latter had grown more careful as to this matter of ordination than they were at first. Mr. Rich resided in New Haven until the day of his death, Oct. 18, 1821, aged 71. Rev. William Farewell resided in Charlestown, N. H., in 1803; but must have removed shortly after to Barre, Vt., where he died, December 11, 1823, aged 74.

the General Convention, which met the same month at Winchester, N. H. :

Introductory Prayer, by Rev. Joab Young, of Strafford, Vt. Sermon, by Rev. George Richards, of Portsmouth, N. H. Ordaining Prayer, by Rev. Samuel Hilliard, of Clarendon, Vt. Charge, by Rev. J. Young. Fellowship of the Convention and Societies, by Rev. Walter Ferris.*

SECTION IV.—CONVENTION OF 1803.

The General Convention of this year was holden in Winchester, N. H., and for numbers in attendance, importance of the business, and animation of the brethren, had perhaps been excelled by no previous meeting. The principal subject which was to come up, was the consideration of the report of the committee on the "Pro-

* This service took place at Barnard, on September 27, 1803. The Certificate of his Ordination was in the following words :

" In the name of the General Convention of the Universalist Churches of the New England States :

" To all to whom these presents shall come, Christian Salutation and Benediction :

" Now know ye, that Brother Hosea Ballou, of Barnard, Vt., was regularly ordained, as a preacher of the gospel, according to the Abrahamic faith, — which is that in thy seed, and that seed Christ, shall all the nations, all the families, and all the kindreds of the earth be blessed, — at Barnard, Vt., on Tuesday, the 27th of September, 1803 ; and he is hereby commended to the whole family of Adam, who are enabled to receive him in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.

" Given under our hands, at Barnard, Vt., September 27th, 1803.

" JOAB YOUNG, *Presiding Elder.*"

That is, we suppose, Moderator of the Ordaining Council. It was further signed by George Richards, Samuel Hilliard, James Babbitt, and Walter Ferris.

fession of Belief, and Plan of the Association," or form of government of the Convention. We have before stated that the committee on this subject was the venerable Zebulon Streeter, with Revs. George Richards, Hosea Ballou, Walter Ferris, and Zephaniah Lathe. Mr. Murray had not been careful to attend the meetings of the Convention, and had not sympathized deeply with the clergymen of the interior parts of the country. For these reasons, doubtless, he had not been appointed on this committee. Had he been a member, he would probably have urged the introduction of the doctrine of the Trinity into the profession of belief, which must have been the cause of grievance, as Mr. Ballou, and perhaps some others, could not have subscribed to it. The profession of belief (as Father Ballou has repeatedly informed me) was drawn up by Walter Ferris; and was designed to state the great principles of their faith and obligations, without touching those delicate questions on which the brethren were somewhat divided. We here introduce it:

"PROFESSION OF BELIEF.

"ARTICLE THE FIRST.

"We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest, and final destination of mankind.

"ARTICLE THE SECOND.

"We believe that there is one God whose nature is love; revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

"ARTICLE THE THIRD.

"We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected; and that believers ought to be careful to maintain order, and practise good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men."

These articles were rendered necessary, because attempts had been made, especially in New Hampshire, to show that Universalists were not a distinct sect; that they had no creed, or separate form of faith, before the world, by which they were distinguished from the standing order of Christians in that state. The judges of the Supreme Court had decided that Congregationalists and Universalists were the same sect in the eye of the law, and that, therefore, the latter must continue to pay taxes to the former.* The Universalists were greatly moved at this decision, and they took measures to procure a revision of the opinion of the court. The confession of faith and the plan of the Convention's government were adopted, to give a distinct denominational character to the Universalists, that they might be acknowledged a distinct class of Christians in New Hampshire, and be obliged no longer to pay taxes to the Congregationalists. The Universalists were acknowledged a distinct sect in that state shortly afterwards.

The fullest account which has ever been published of the session of the Convention for 1803, may be found in Memoirs of Rev. N. Stacy. He spoke of the occasion in the following terms :

* See "Modern History of Universalism," Boston, 1830, p. 372. See, also, Barstow's History of New Hampshire, Concord, 1842, pp. 444—447.

"This, to me, was a season of unprecedented felicity. I had never been enabled to attend but part of an Association, since the one I have before mentioned, in Woodstock; and at that I enjoyed the satisfaction of hearing only one discourse, and that was from Mr. Barnes. But now I had met nearly all the preachers of our order; and I should have the unspeakable happiness of hearing several of them preach! My feelings were so excited in anticipation, that I could scarcely eat or sleep for days, and even weeks, before the meeting. And when I was actually permitted to meet the brethren face to face, to feel the warmth of their fraternal hands, to listen to the gracious words that fell from their lips, to hear their songs of praise and thanksgiving, and to mingle with them in the joyful season of devotion, as one of their number, was indeed overwhelming! I 'knew not whether I was in the body, or out of the body;' but one thing I did know — that I was in the spirit! What rendered the season more exquisitely delightful to me, probably, was, I had been but a short time in the ministry — not quite a year; and most of that time I had spent quite a distance from any of my ministering brethren, and had not enjoyed even the privilege of associating with but very few who dared to name the name of Universalism: I had been exposed, alone, to the buffetings of opposers, and had to meet with vastly more frowns than smiles, and with more censures, rebukes and curses, than with tokens of kindness, or words of encouragement. This rendered the meeting doubly interesting and joyful, as well as all other meetings of the Association for years, from similar causes. I looked forward with earnest anticipations for the time to arrive, travelled with tireless steps and sleepless eyes to the appointed place, and remained in ecstasy until the close of the meeting; but then, alas, the time of trial came! I had to part with the brethren, and go off alone to my thankless labor; to meet the frowns of the enemy of the holy cause, the curses of those I loved, and the fatigues and privations unavoidable to my calling. I have wept for miles, after parting with the brethren; and felt like a child when whipped to his task by a father's rod.

"At this session of the Convention, four brethren received letters

of fellowship, namely, Noah Murray, Abner Kneeland, Samuel Smith, and Nathaniel Stacy. I have still, in a good state of preservation, my letter of fellowship, written by Geo. Richards, and signed by Zebulon Streeter, Moderator, and Edward Turner, clerk; dated Sept., 1803. Mr. Murray was a convert from the Baptists, with whom he preached a number of years; but, many years before this, he had renounced the doctrine of Partialism, and had been proclaiming the doctrine of Impartial Grace: but never, until this time, had met and united with the Association. But, at this session, he had not only received a letter of fellowship, but ordination was conferred upon him; and he continued faithfully to proclaim the glad tidings of free grace to all mankind, until he closed his earthly pilgrimage. His residence was in the town of Athens, Tioga Point, Pa. A few years after his death, I visited the surviving members of his family at Athens, among whom was his venerable widow, who, in the full enjoyment of the faith and hope which sustained him in the hour of his departure, was waiting that deliverance which she has long since experienced.

“Samuel Smith proved an unprofitable member. He travelled about in many places, among the societies and brethren, attempting to preach, but wounding the cause wherever he went. A short time after I visited the State of New York, Smith came into, and was about, that country two or three months. I saw him, I believe, but once, and felt little inclination to encourage his meetings. From thence he went to Connecticut, and soon after made shipwreck of his faith (if he ever had any, which to me was very questionable) at an exciting Methodist meeting; and the last I ever heard of him was through a very singular letter from him, addressed to a friend in New Berlin, Chenango Co., New York, which afforded abundant evidence that he never entertained any correct views of the doctrine of Universalism. The ultimate course of the other two the world has already learned, or will soon be apprised of. Such were the four who received the fellowship of the Association in 1803. Two of them have certainly paid the debt of nature; and it may be safely presumed that only one of them remains a tenant of this earthly ball.

“There was a measure called for, at this time, which, in its adoption by the Council, produced considerable argument in the discussion, and no little sensation among the brethren ; which was, the adoption of a written creed, or confession of faith. It became absolutely necessary, to save Universalists in New England, and particularly in New Hampshire, from clerical oppression. In those days, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were denominated the *Standing Order*, and they had a legal right to tax every individual in the parish for the support of the clergy ; and the only remedy the individual had, to avoid paying such tax to them, was to join some other sect, and bring a certificate from them to the *Standing Order* that he had joined that society, and actually paid taxes to them. This had been done, in one or more cases, in the State of New Hampshire ; but, nevertheless, the *Standing Order* proceeded to collect the tax. Resistance was made, and the case was finally carried up to the Supreme Court, which decided that there was no such order known as Universalists, for they had no creed or profession of faith to distinguish them from the *Standing Order* ; and they were, consequently, compelled to pay taxes to them. Our brethren felt afraid of creeds. They had read, seen and experienced, as they supposed, the distracting, illiberal, and persecuting effects of human creeds ; and they wished to avoid the vortex of that whirlpool into which they had seen so many drawn to inevitable destruction. The Bible was a sufficient creed ; it was all the creed they wanted — all they needed ; it was sufficiently definite, and each one had an equal right to construe it for himself, while he did not deny its inspiration and authority. They felt no inclination to take upon themselves a ‘yoke which neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear.’ They had so far lived without a creed ; and they had lived in perfect union. Now, they very much feared, should they go to making creeds, they would become divided, and, like others who had gone before them, begin to cherish an exclusive and persecuting spirit. But what should be done ? They sympathized deeply with the persecuted brethren in New Hampshire ; and wished, if possible, to relieve them. A committee was appointed the previous year to prepare a confession of faith, and

a platform, or constitution, of which Mr. Walter Ferris was a member; and he now presented one so unobjectionable, that it was difficult to find where the most fastidious could object to it, or how it could lead to division. A motion was made to adopt it; and probably the longest and warmest debate ensued that had ever been known in that deliberative body. It was, however, conducted throughout with the kindest feelings, but with much earnestness and considerable sensibility; tears and smiles by the attentive auditors alternately followed the pathetic appeals of the speakers on each side. Among its warmest advocates were George Richards, Hosea Ballou, Walter Ferris, and Zephaniah Laithe; and among its opposers, Edward Turner and Noah Murray. I distinctly recollect a metaphor in one of Mr. Murray's arguments, and Mr. Laithe's reply. Mr. Murray said, in allusion to the confession of faith, 'It is harmless now — it is a calf, and its horns have not yet made their appearance; but it will soon grow older — its horns will grow, and then it will begin to hook.' Mr. Laithe arose, and replied, 'All that Br. Murray has said would be correct, had he not made a mistake in the animal. It is not a calf; it is a dove; and who ever heard of a dove having horns, at any age?' But the confession was adopted without alteration, I believe, as reported by the committee, through Mr. Ferris. The opposition yielding, it passed (if my memory well serves me) by the unanimous voice of the council, with a resolution appended to it to this effect, — that *no alteration should ever be made, hereafter, to the confession of faith.*"

SECTION V. — CONVENTION OF 1804.

The Convention of 1804 met in the town of Sturbridge, Mass., in the vicinity of large bodies of Universalists. Mr. Murray,* of Boston, was present, and was elected

* Rev. N. Stacy says, in his Memoirs, "The General Convention of Universalists in New England held its annual session in the fall of 1804, in the town of Sturbridge, Mass. At this meeting, I for the first,

Moderator, and Messrs. Edward Turner and Hosea Ballou were chosen clerks. Mr. Murray preached on both days of the session, and Mr. Ballou, also, preached on the second day, from the words of Jesus, John 6: 27, "Labor not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Universalism had begun a year or two before this to show itself in the central part of the great State of New York, then almost a wilderness. Up to this time, its growth in that state had been confined to the city of New York. At the session of the Convention in Sturbridge appeared Rev. Miles T. Wooley, who has been before mentioned in these memoirs, and who, in the summer of 1804, had found his way into the wilderness of New York. He sought counsel of the Convention in reference to the propriety of attempting to form Universalist societies among the scattered inhabitants of the then western wilderness. The Convention, we are told, "attended to a request from the brethren at Coopers-town, N. Y., for advice, and voted to advise Br. M. T.

and last, and only time in my life, saw the venerable apostle of Universalism in America, Rev. John Murray, and heard him deliver two discourses; he came in company with a man from the city of New York, by the name of Palmer, who also delivered one discourse. It was interesting, indeed, to me, to see and hear Mr. Murray. I had heard my parents often speak of him after they boldly avowed their faith in Universalism, and describe the manner of his preaching; and I had imbibed a high veneration for the man, and had a strong desire to hear the word of truth from his lips; nor were my anticipations disappointed. His manner, to me, was pleasing, and his eloquence captivating. He appeared to possess a perfect government over his own passions; riveted the attention of his hearers; carried them with him through his whole discourse, and made them feel the sensibilities of his own soul; would bring tears into their eyes, or excite their risibility, with as much ease as the words flowed from his opening lips."—pp. 104, 105.

Wooley to assist them in organizing into society relation ; and to do his endeavors, by the help of God, to form societies in those western parts, and make due representation at the next General Session." *

SECTION VI. — OTHER DENOMINATIONAL MATTERS*

Thus the affairs of the infant denomination went on. When we look back to the efforts of our fathers in these times, if we see anything to regret, it was a want of due care in the admission of clergymen into the order. There were so few who were ready to profess Universalism, that when any man offered himself as a preacher of the gospel, he was hailed with much satisfaction ; and, although the brethren and fathers in the Convention did not mean to act in haste, there can now be no doubt that they did grant their fellowship to some who were unworthy of it, and who did the cause of universal grace much harm. But the truth, as they cherished it, was steadily progressing on every hand. Northward almost to Canada, southward to Philadelphia, eastward to the Androscoggin, and westward to central New York, there were brethren scattered abroad. The contest for their civil rights had been waged, and the victory won, in the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. The brethren had agreed on a General Confession of Faith, which, although not so particular as to excite contentions among themselves, was, nevertheless, sufficiently so to answer the purposes of law, and protect them from taxation to support the doctrines of other sects. They felt encouraged, and had a consciousness of increasing strength every day.

* See Manuscript Records of the Convention.

These important matters having been completed, Mr. Ballou was enabled to turn his attention to other things. The desire which overruled everything else in his mind was to spread the knowledge of the truth as it had been revealed to his understanding. This he sought first of all to do by proclaiming the word to the societies whose pastor he had become; and on every Sabbath large congregations came together to listen to him. The people pressed in from the neighboring towns, drawn by the novel character of his instructions, by the ardor of his mind, by the power of his eloquence, by the clearness of his manner, by the agreement of his doctrines with the character of God and the divine word, and by the power of those doctrines to satisfy the earnest longings of their souls. They had begun to turn away from Calvinism, that dark cloud of error; and they loved to fix their eyes on the increasing light of a new day. But these were not all the duties in which Mr. Ballou was engaged. He extended his labors into other sections of the state. Invitations reached him to visit other places beside those in which he regularly ministered. Frequent journeys were performed, and sometimes quite long ones. Providing some brother to fulfil his engagements at home for a few Sabbaths, he would go out to fulfil a long list of appointments, so arranged that he could preach not only on the Sabbath day, but on each secular day, and sometimes twice and thrice on each day. Thinking of these labors, an aged layman, who had known him well in his youth, wrote him, in the year 1834, as follows :

“ BR. BALLOU : It is not length of time, nor distance, however great, that will ever wean my affections or turn my thoughts

from you or your family. It is now more than thirty years since our neighborhood and society connections have ceased to be as they then were; and when I take a retrospective view of the many happy days we have enjoyed together in each of our family circles, while you were laboring in the wilds of Vermont, to prepare that part of the vineyard for a harvest in some future time, I am lost in rapture and surprise! ” *

Mr. Ballou replied :

“ *Boston, July 29, 1834.*

“ VENERABLE BR. KEITH : Your friendly letter of the 21st inst. has affected me somewhat like a spark falling on dormant, dry tinder. I am certainly alive ! You carry me back to former times, when in our respective family circles we tasted of enjoyments which, while life remains, will be remembered with enthusiasm and gratitude. The comparison you draw between the time of sowing and reaping carries me over the hills and through the valleys and along the winding streams of Vermont, when the moral vineyard presented little else than the briers, the thorns, and the nettles, which had been planted and nurtured by that wisdom which is foolishness ; and among which the serpent, in his variety of species, wound himself, confident in his own poison for defence. But we have lived to see a striking fulfilment of that beautiful passage which says, ‘ He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall, doubtless, come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.’ In that vineyard, ‘ Instead of the thorn the fir-tree has come up ; and instead of the brier, appears the myrtle ; and it shall be to the Lord for a name, for an everlasting sign, that shall not be cut off.’ ”

SECTION VII.—NOTES ON THE PARABLES.

While in the fulfilment of these engagements, Mr. Ballou was contemplating still wider usefulness. He

* Letter from Caleb Keith, Esq., of Wentworth, N. H., dated July 21st, 1834.

had seen great divisions existing among Christians, in consequence of their different views of the divine oracles, especially of those parts which are in the form of parables. The interpretation of parables gives wide scope to the imagination; and almost every sect, and in fact every individual mystic and enthusiast, sees, or thinks he sees, the proofs of his favorite notions in these parables. The spread of sound biblical knowledge has lessened somewhat the evils of which we here speak; but they were very prevalent at the time Mr. B. wrote his work. These differences in the opinions of Christians engendered disaffection; and this was "like a hot-bed to the seeds of contention and root of bitterness." Although Mr. Ballou was far from expecting that a general agreement among Christians would result from his labors, yet he entertained a humble hope that some approximation to that good object might be gained. He had met with more opposition to the gospel, as preached to Abraham, which arose from false notions of the parables, than that which came from any other source. These things caused him severe labors. He was ever willing to aid the honest inquirer after truth. It often happened that, after traveling many miles, and preaching several sermons in a day, he found it necessary to explain certain parables to some inquirer, and this too at times when his strength seemed nearly exhausted. Such considerations induced him to prepare the work of which we are about to speak. He seems to have foreseen that during the writing, and for some little time afterwards, he should not be able to perform the journeys to which he had accustomed himself.

And now, let us inquire, what aids he had in the undertaking? Positively, none at all, except his Bible, and a meek, prayerful, inquiring mind. In respect to the true knowledge of God, it seemed to him that the world around was dark indeed. Scarcely a ray broke through the deep gloom. A very few works had been brought out by the labors of Messrs. Murray and Winchester in this country; but Mr. Ballou had not seen them. He had always lived in the interior, among the husbandmen; he had seldom seen the cities and large towns; and, even if he knew there were any books on Unitarianism, or Universalism, except the Bible, it would have been very difficult for him to obtain them. He stood almost alone. True, he met his few ministering brethren at the Convention once a year,—and seldom at any other time. From some of them, and from many of his hearers, he had been requested to bring out a work explanatory of the parables, on *his* method of interpretation. The Bible was the only book he had to aid him in the work. Speaking of this subject twenty-seven years afterwards, he said, “At this period the light which has now become general among the unprejudiced seekers after the true knowledge of the Scriptures, was as the dawning of the day. With limited discoveries, and destitute of necessary resources, the author, at the commencement of improvement in knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, attempted a work, to do justice to which would require attainments and talents to which, after so long a time, he has not the vanity to lay any claims. And yet the humble hope which he so long entertained, and which

was expressed in the preface to the first edition, has been abundantly realized."*

Another circumstance had no small effect in the mind of Mr. Ballou. He saw that the most important subjects were embraced in the parables. He was persuaded that a just knowledge of those portions of scripture was almost indispensably necessary to a full knowledge of the doctrine preached by Christ; for the great Teacher very frequently adopted that manner of teaching. As Mr. Ballou then viewed these matters, he saw that it was "in the parables of Christ that we learn the nature of the two dispensations, or covenants; the situation of man by reason of sin; the character of the Saviour, as the seeker and savior of that which was lost; the power of the gospel as a sovereign remedy for the moral maladies of man, and its divine efficacy in reconciling the sinner to God. It was by the parables, he thought, that he learned the unprofitableness of legal righteousness in point of justification to eternal life; the absolute necessity of becoming new creatures, in order to enter the kingdom of God; the true character of the Saviour, as the Lord our righteousness, and his divine power to make all things new."

SECTION VIII. — VIEWS TAKEN IN THE NOTES.

Impressed with these considerations, he began, about January, 1804, to write his "Notes on the Parables of the New Testament."† His views then, in certain

* See preface to fifth edition. Boston, Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1831.

† The first edition was printed at Randolph, Vt., by Sereno Wright, A. D. 1804. It was an octavo pamphlet of eighty pages. I have never

unimportant respects, were not what they were in maturer life. The light had but just begun to shine. He held that men, in their earthly character, were sinners; that no man in or by the carnal mind could bring forth good fruit. — See p. 8. Adam died in the day of his transgression; and, as he was the root from which mankind sprung, they sprung from a spiritually dead root. Hence he said, "If we sprang from a spiritually dead root, can we possess any spiritual life derived from that root?" Consequently, he held that man in his Adamic nature — that is, his earthly nature, denoted by the carnal mind — cannot do the acceptable works of righteousness. These arise from his spiritual nature. The "carnal mind is not subject to the law of God, neither, indeed, can be." But man has an immortal soul, distinct from the carnal mind. — p. 69, sec. 6. It was to redeem the soul from the dominion of the carnal mind that Christ came into the world. He is the Lord our righteousness; he shows us what is the righteousness of God in his own person. Men have made great mistakes as to the nature of righteousness. We must not seek to be righteous in any way except as Christ was righteous; we must put on his righteousness; that is, his righteousness is the model which we should imitate. The Jews sought to be righteous, not by loving God, nor by loving men, nor by practising justice and mercy between man and man, but by the ceremonies of the law. The law was indeed good, but the Jews abused it. — See pp. 73—75. They sought

seen but one copy of it, and that I found at the house of my father-in-law, in Milford, Mass. The pages I have referred to in the body of the work belong to the first edition.

to make themselves righteous by performing the mere ceremonies of the law,— p. 43;— and hence they had not on the wedding garment, which was the righteousness of Christ.— p. 31. They sought to establish their own righteousness, or to be righteous in their own way. Such seems to have been his theory as to these matters. These illustrations should be remembered, otherwise some of the notes will appear mystical. His mind was evidently embarrassed somewhat by the old Antinomian notions in which he had been educated; but still it is evident that he was aiming to bring the views of men on these subjects into harmony with reason and truth, as revealed in the Scriptures.

There was one thing of which he was fully persuaded at the time, namely, that none of the parables, when properly understood, would give the slightest support to the doctrine of endless punishment. He had studied them very carefully and seriously with reference to that point, and with a sincere desire to know the truth; and he became fully satisfied with the fact we have stated. But he was not so happy as to be fully satisfied, in every case, as to the true intent of the parable. In this situation, he cautiously endeavored not to apply any parable to a subject which was not found to be embraced in the system of truth which the Scriptures clearly and evidently support. In maturer life, his views changed in regard to the true intent of some of the parables; and it was then a satisfaction to him to reflect that, even if he had in some cases applied them differently from what he would afterwards have done, he had not applied them to any subject that was false in itself. Throughout the

book, we find no reference to any work, except the Bible; and while the doctrine of endless punishment is represented as an error of vast magnitude, there is no reference to the doctrine of future *limited* punishment, in any way. He cannot be said to have believed it, nor to have decidedly rejected it at this time, although we think his mind was inclining to doubt on the subject.

SECTION IX. — HIS DISADVANTAGES.

In judging of this book, we must consider very carefully the situation of the author when he wrote it. He was without a single aid, except the Bible. No book, no commentary, had he,— he had to work his own way, where no track had ever been made, so far as he knew. A large number of the parables had been used to prove the doctrine of endless misery. He had become fully satisfied that this was an improper use; for, by so interpreting them, they were made to contradict some of the plainest parts of the word of God. Under many embarrassments, arising from a false education in a religious point of view, and of a very limited education in every other sense, he made the attempt to define the true sense of the parables of the New Testament. We do not wonder that there were a few misapplications — we only wonder that there were not more. The labor did not consist in merely writing a book of eighty pages, but in seeking the sense of each parable. No treatises on the interpretation of parables, laying down rules for that purpose, had ever appeared in the country. The works of Eastern travellers, which have since thrown so much light upon the subject, were

not then written. Works on the hyperboles and metaphors of the sacred writings were almost entirely unknown in America, and to Mr. Ballou were utterly unknown. With his Bible only he sat down to the work; but the medium through which he saw divine truth was discolored by the theological errors which everywhere abounded in the land. Columbus, when he crossed the ocean to search for a new continent, had no charts to guide him; he had none of the advantages which the late discoveries and improvements in the science of navigation have conferred upon the mariner; he was impelled by the *belief* that there was a western world which civilized Europe had not seen, and by the hope that, by perseverance and the blessing of God, he should reach it. He *did* reach it. Others followed afterwards. How different their prospects! They *knew* whither they were going; the science of navigation had been improved, and men could measure their way on the deep as accurately almost as upon the land. Charts directed their way to the very harbors to which they would go, and through the very channels in which they would sail. How vast the difference between the situation of the last-named mariners and that of Columbus! Such was the difference between the advantages of commentators upon the Scriptures of our day and those of the author of the Notes on the Parables.

SECTION X.—THE TREATISE ON ATONEMENT.

The "Notes on the Parables" went out, and effected a very good result; but the work which was to create a

far greater sensation, and to establish more firmly the author's fame, was the "Treatise on Atonement." This has been read by a greater number of persons than any other he ever wrote. Twenty, thirty, and forty years after publication, it was not uncommon for the author to receive epistles from individuals he never saw, informing him that they had been converted to a belief in the doctrine of universal grace by reading his Treatise.* It

* As a proof of what we here state, we subjoin the following letters, out of a great number. The first is an extract of a letter from Rev. E. Beers, to Rev. Hosea Ballou, giving an account of the meeting of the Universalist Association holden at the village of Orleans, Ontario county, N. Y., in October, 1824.

"At the commencement of public worship on the second day, Br. Stacy informed the congregation that there was a person in the assembly that wished for the opportunity of addressing them a few minutes; when an old gentleman of respectable appearance, leaning upon his staff, moved towards the pulpit, and, being invited, he ascended. With ease and with pleasure, he made a short and pleasing address to the congregation of different ages, exhorting us to search the Scriptures, and regard them as the word of God. He declared he had been for many years an infidel, having rejected the Scriptures as the work of men. It appeared by his discourse that he had been driven to infidelity by the difficulties he saw amongst Christians, and the unreasonable nature of their systems of atonement, which they have attempted to support from the Bible. He stated that he had examined all the theological writings he could meet with, but could never get any satisfaction until he met with Mr. Ballou's Treatise on Atonement. He then thought he had found a rational system of atonement, and began again to search the Scriptures, to see if they contained the same doctrine. His labor terminated in a belief that they did, and his reception of them again as the word of God was the consequence. He stated that he had bought Scott's large Bible, with notes, and takes much pleasure in reading it. He felt it a duty to make this public recantation of his infidel sentiments, that the Universalists might not be charged with taking into their society an old infidel, without being able to rebut the charge. From the testimony of this convert to the Bible, may those Christians that are in the habit of ranking Universalism with Deism and Atheism, as one, remember that, in

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other so unsatisfied, as to make it certain that the greater part of mankind would suffer endless punishment,— were dogmas which appeared to him to be unfounded in reason, and unsupported by divine revelation. He held that such notions served only to darken the human understanding and obscure the gospel of eternal life; that they rendered the Bible, which he *sincerely* esteemed as a divine revelation, a subject of discredit to thousands who would never have rejected it, had it not been for the belief that the absurdities named were taught therein. One particular object which Mr. Ballou had in view, therefore, was, to free the scriptural doctrine of atonement from those encumbrances which have done it so much injury, and thereby open a way for the subject to be investigated on reasonable grounds.

The “Treatise on Atonement” was an aggressive work. It was a bold attack on the three great errors of the day, namely, the Trinity, the Atonement in the non-scriptural but universally prevalent sense of the phrase, and Endless Punishment. If these errors could be thrown down, others, of course, would fall with them; as, when you pull away the pillars that support an edifice, you bring down every other part also. This attack was made by a man of great boldness, who, like the apostles, had no place of power or emolument to lose; who connected himself, and all that he was, and all that he had, with the cause he loved; and who was willing to sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, with it. He was, no doubt, consoled with the hope that truth must triumph in the end. The past year had been a solemn one to him; his aged father had then just been borne to the grave,

and the son perhaps felt admonished to "work while the day lasts, for the night cometh in which no man can work."

SECTION XI. — PLAN OF THE TREATISE.

We come now to describe the plan of the work. Look at the title-page: "A Treatise on Atonement; in which the finite nature of sin is argued, its cause and consequence as such; the necessity and nature of atonement, and its glorious consequences in the final reconciliation of all men to holiness and happiness." * These are great subjects: the work is to treat of sin, the cause of sin, the consequences of sin, the atonement, its necessity and nature, and the final reconciliation of all men as the consequence thereof. Remember that it is to meet errors which were rife when it was written; and these errors are described in language suited to those times.

SECTION XII. — OF SIN.

The work treats, 1st, of Sin; and here a subdivision takes place, for, in speaking of sin, the author describes, 1st, the nature; 2d, the cause; 3d, the effects. "Sin is the violation of a law which exists in the mind, which law is the imperfect knowledgē men have of moral good.

* "By Hosea Ballou, of Barnard, ordained pastor of the United Societies of Barnard, Woodstock, Hartland, Bethel, and Bridgewater; author of a pamphlet entitled 'Notes on the Parables of the New Testament.' 'For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'—*St. Paul*. 'And there shall be no more death.'—*St. John*. Randolph (Ver.), Printed by Sereno Wright. 1805."—Our references are to the pages in this edition.

This law is transgressed whenever, by the influence of temptation, a good understanding yields to a contrary choice."—p. 15. Sin was not, in the view of the author, infinite, although this was a feature of the popular orthodoxy of that day. Our capacity to understand is limited and imperfect, and hence sin cannot be infinite. All our knowledge of good and evil is gained by comparison. If we had greater knowledge, perhaps we should not sin at all; or, could we embrace all the consequences that will ever flow from our actions in our *intentions*, they would differ materially from what they are. How would it have been with Joseph's brethren, if they had known all the consequences of their actions? We see, then, that what in a certain sense we call evil may in another sense be called good.—p. 21. Man means his sin unto evil; God means it unto good. The sin lies in the intention.—p. 22.

2d. The cause or origin of sin. The old idea of a sinning angel was totally discarded.—See pp. 24—30. Mr. Ballou denied wholly, in this work, the actual existence of a living being called the devil,—a frightful and dangerous innovation in the sight of all the pious people in the land. It seemed to them that half their religion was gone, if the existence of an actual living, personal devil were denied. But Mr. Ballou *did* deny the existence of *such* a living being, and consequently he did not attribute the origin of sin to him.

He believed that God is a being infinite in perfection; that he is the author of our existence; that he had a design in the creation of man which must be carried into effect. He believed that natural evil had its origin in

the original constitution of our animal nature, and that moral evil, or sin, had its origin in natural evil. Man is naturally possessed of appetites and passions. Unsatisfied desires cause his volitions. What he wants he seeks to get; and it is in this way that he is led into sin. God made man originally of flesh and blood.—Rom. 8 : 20. Sin has its origin in the earthly appetites and passions; it is one of the works of the flesh.—Gal. 5 : 19—21 ; 1 Cor. 3 : 3. Man is not wholly constituted of flesh and blood ; but he has a moral or spiritual life.—Rom. 7 : 19—23 ; 8 : 1, 2. Man is tempted to sin when he is drawn away of his own lusts or desires.—Jas. 1 : 14, 15. This is represented allegorically in the account of the sin of Adam and Eve. They desired to eat of the forbidden fruit. The serpent was a figure to represent the power of temptation. They thought the forbidden fruit was pleasant ; they thought it would make them happy ; but they did not judge correctly, and they fell.

“The pathway of understanding is now open and clear. *God* saw fit, in his plan of divine wisdom, to make the creature subject to vanity ; to give him a moral constitution ; to fix on his nature those faculties which would, in their operation, oppose the spirit of the heavenly nature. It is therefore said that *God put enmity* between the seed of the woman and that of the serpent. And it was by the passions which arose from the fleshly nature, that the whole mind became carnal, and man was captivated thereby.” — p. 34.

SECTION XIII. — IS THE HUMAN WILL FREE ?

Mr. Ballou foresaw that it would be objected to his

system that he denied the liberty of the will. He was prepared to meet this objection.

"But perhaps the objector will say, This denies the *liberty of the will*, and makes *God* the *author of sin*. To which I reply, desiring the reader to recollect what I have said of sin in showing its nature; by which it is discovered that God may be the innocent and holy cause of that which, in a limited sense, is sin; but, as it respects the meaning of God, it is intended for good. It is not casting any disagreeable reflections on the Almighty, to say he determined all things for good; and to believe he *superintends* all the affairs of the universe, not excepting sin, is a million times more to the honor of God, than to believe he *cannot*, or that he does not when he can. The reader will then ask, If God must be considered as the first, the holy, and the innocent cause of sin, is there any unholy or impure causes? I answer, There is, but in a limited sense. There is no divine holiness in any fleshly or carnal exercise; there is no holiness nor purity in all the deceptions ever experienced by imperfect beings; and these are the immediate causes of sin; and, as such, they make the best of men on earth groan, and cry out, 'Who shall deliver me from the *body of this death*?' "—pp. 34, 35.

But, for the sake of the argument, Mr. Ballou would admit the liberty of the will, in the sense in which his opponent seemed to contend for it. Where did man get this freedom of the will? From God. Did not God know what that freedom would produce? He did. Then he was the author of the consequence. What is the freedom of the will, but the freedom of choice? Now, the object always governs the choice; and therefore the will, or power which makes the choice, is *not* free. God even himself does not possess such freedom.

"But, in the first place, for the sake of the argument, I will

consent to any liberty of the will which is contended for; and then ask, What was the cause of man's having liberty of will? My opponent must allow it was God. Well, if God produced a *liberty of will* in man, and that liberty of will produced sin, is there any great difficulty in seeing that that is making God the original cause of sin, in every sense in which I have argued it? What would the objector wish to be understood to mean by will? If it is anything more or less than choice, I am at a loss about it. If it is choice, then what we have to look into is the *liberty of choice*. In order for choice to take place, the mind must have perceptions of two or more objects, and that object which has the most influence on the judgment and passions will be the chosen object; and *choice*, in this instance, has not even the *shadow of liberty*. None will be vain enough to say that will, or choice, has any liberty before it exists, and choice does not exist until an object is chosen; and to say choice has liberty to refuse an object after it is chosen, is using violence on terms. And the same will be the conclusion, if we take the word *will*. A person is invited by two friends to make them a visit the same afternoon, at their respective houses; he wishes to visit both, but cannot at the same time. In this circumstance, honored with both their invitations, he feels at a real loss what answer to make; both insist on his compliance with equal earnestness and with equal influence on his judgment and passions, — he still remains without a determination. To end the affair, one of his friends says, 'I will go with you this afternoon, and visit our friend, if you and he will return the visit next week.' This decides in the mind of him who was first invited, as the other consents to the proposal. Now, *choice*, or *will*, is in favor of visiting, according to the last proposal made. Until the man willed to go, the will to go did not exist; it could have no liberty before it did exist; and, after it did, to say that that will which was to go one way was at liberty to go the other, is using the violence before mentioned. It is then evident that will, or choice, has no possible liberty. The objector will now move his position, and say it is the mind that has this *liberty* to choose or not choose, to will or not will. In order to determine this matter justly, I

first ask, Does the power of choosing [determining choice] exist in the mind, or in the object chosen? If it be answered that the power of [determining] choice is in the mind, and not in the object which influences the mind, the man who was at a loss to determine which of his friends to visit, while the objects were in equal force on his mind, was entirely ignorant of it; and, admitting it was so, it might as well have been otherwise, for the power of choosing, in his mind, did him no good; he was, after all, dependent on a certain circumstance, which, being attached to one object, made it preferable to the other. Again, admitting the power of [determining] choice to be attributed to the mind, and not to the object which gives perceptions to the mind and influences it, it must be as easy for the mind to choose a *minor* as a *major* object. It will be granted, on all sides, that persons may choose an object, in preference to another, which is not half so valuable; but this is always in consequence of an error in judgment. Now, it is as objects appear to the mind that we ought to consider them in our present query. Supposing a poor man, who has a wife and some hungry children to feed, is offered a dollar, or a guinea, for a day's work; he does not know the value of either, not being acquainted with money, or its value, or the nature of the metals which are stamped with value. He consults, or means to consult, the good of those for whom he is willing to labor, and would, if possible, receive that which would do the most towards removing their wants; and says to himself, The dollar is much the largest, and the probability is it is worth three times as much as the guinea; it is finally his opinion that that is the case. Now, I ask, in relation to my argument, which of those pieces of money will he be most likely to choose? The answer is, the dollar. But, I ask, why? If his mind is at *real liberty*, it is no more attached to the dollar than to the guinea; the influence which the dollar has on his mind more than the guinea destroys not the *liberty* of the mind to choose the guinea? I wish to be told why he is more likely to choose the dollar than the guinea. Or, to alter the statement, so that the mind is not deceived: — The man perfectly knows the value of both guinea and dollar. The good of his wanting fam-

ily is what he means to consult,— which will he be most likely to choose in this case? Answer, the guinea. I ask, again, why? is there any reason, or is there not? There is, and it is the greater value. Then the object governs the choice. I ask, in the above instance had the mind any *power* or *liberty* to choose an object which appeared of the least value, and refuse that which appeared of the greatest? I am sure there is not a person in the world who would say that it had. Again, admitting, for the sake of the argument, that the mind possesses this imaginary liberty, I then ask, How came it to possess such liberty? Answer, *God* gave it. Then the matter stands thus: *God* produced a mind, and gave it liberty to will or choose, and it wills or chooses; I ask, What is the original cause of this willing and choosing? The reader will easily see, that, if I grant my opponent's arguments, it will not be to his advantage. Again, for the last time, if *God* gave to man a *liberty* whereby he can choose or refuse the same object, did he not give his creature a liberty which he did not possess himself? Did not the Infinitely Wise eternally know all that he himself would do? It must be granted. Then I ask, again, does he possess any liberty in his nature, whereby it is in his power to abandon the general system contained in his divine omniscency, and embrace one entirely different? I am sure there are but few in the world who would not say, as did the apostle, 'He cannot deny himself.' If the creature possesses an ability which is not in his Creator, I would ask, first, where he got it? And, secondly, if the Almighty knew all the consequences which would arise from such an ability? If the answer is in the negative, it argues that his wisdom is finite and limited, and that he does not know but this *unaccountable* ability of willing and choosing may finally destroy his whole plan in creation, providence and redemption! If it is granted that he did know all the consequences that would arise from this ability of willing and choosing, which is called liberty of will, it is denying its existence. For, if those consequences were all *known*, it argues they were all *certain*, and none of them avoidable."— pp, 36—39.

So much for the alleged freedom of the will, and the power of choice. Man is always aiming at happiness.

“Man’s *main* object, in all he does, is *happiness*; and, were it not for that, he never could have any other *particular* object. What would induce men to form societies, to be at the expense of supporting government, to acquire knowledge, to learn the sciences, or till the earth, if they believed they could be as happy without as with? The fact is, man would not be the being that he now is, as there would not be any stimulus to action; he must become *inert*, therefore cease to be. As men are never without this grand object, so they are never without their wants, which render such an object desirable. But their minor objects vary, according as their understandings vary, and their passions differ.

* * * * *

“We find some men honest and industrious, who think, and think justly, that happiness is not to be found in any other way. Others are indolent and knavish, and they expect to obtain happiness in so being. But they are deceived in their objects; and will finally learn that they must be what conscience has often told them they ought to be, honest and just, in order to be happy.”
— pp. 41—43.

SECTION XIV.—SIN MAY HAVE ENDLESS RESULTS.

Having thus laid down his theory in regard to the nature of sin, and its cause or origin, Mr. Ballou proceeded to consider its consequences in the present life. These are pain, misery, guilt, destruction. These consequences are described with much power. The sinner is deceived. He expects happiness, and finds misery. He is led captive by his appetites and passions, which, if properly controlled, would be blessings unto him; but which, being directed to wrong objects, are the sources

of his most poignant sorrows. A sketch only of his arguments is given: he who would learn more fully his views on these important subjects must peruse the Treatise for himself.

But it must not be forgotten, in treating of the consequences of sin, that Mr. B. supposed sin might have consequences which were not evil. It is necessary to observe this distinction, because some have thought he held that all the consequences of sin are confined to the present life. This is far from being the truth. As early in his life as the time in which he wrote the "Treatise," and probably much earlier, he was accustomed to make a distinction between the consequences of sin that are not evil, and the immediate consequences of guilt. The former may be even eternal, while the latter only are those which Mr. B. supposed must be limited. "The effects of sin, as sin," he said, "are not endless, but are limited to the state in which it is committed."—p. 55.

"I have already hinted that sin might have consequences which were not evil, but not as sin. By the infinite wisdom and goodness of the Almighty, sin may be of advantage even to the sinner himself; but, I say again, not as sin. If the infinitely Wise and Good intended any one thing for good, which we rightly call sin, that event, in respect to the divine intention, is not sin. I have introduced a circumstance, in the fore part of this work, in which what I am now endeavoring to illustrate may clearly be seen. It is evident, that that which Joseph's brethren meant unto evil, God meant unto good. Now, the immediate consequences of their sin, to them, was guilt of the first magnitude. Who could calculate the one-half of what they endured, in consequence of the wrong which they had done! But the consequences which God intended, in the issue of the event, were altogether beneficial; and those who committed the sin, by the mercy of God, were made

the partakers of the benefits contained in the purpose of him who meant it for good.

“ Again, it is evident, from the Scriptures, that Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together against Jesus, to do what the council and the hand of the Almighty had determined to be done.—See Acts 4 : 27, 28. Had Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, any better meaning, in crucifying Christ, than Joseph’s brethren had in selling Joseph to the Ishmaelites? All who read the question will answer, No. But the sacred text says, they were gathered together to do whatsoever *God’s hand and council* had *determined* to be done. Now, I ask, was not the determination of the murderers of Christ the same with the determination of Divine Wisdom? Says the reader, I cannot say it was not, and yet I dare not say it was. I will then answer, the Almighty intended all they did should be done; but he intended it for a very different purpose from what they did who did it. They intended the *destruction and overthrow* of the *doctrine* which Christ preached, and they hoped the things which he had spoken concerning them would fail of taking place. But the means which they used to oppose the cause of Christ were those with which God intended to promote it. They missed of their intentions, and the Lord carried the whole of his into effect. What Christian is there in the world who will say, the consequences of the death of Christ are not good? or, that those who were his murderers, for whom he *prayed* on the *cross*, will not receive an advantage from his death, which they meant for evil? Or, who can *limit* the good contained in the designs of the Almighty? But will this rule do, says the reader, to apply to all sin? I answer, without hesitancy, that I fully believe it. Food for the body would never please the appetite, unless we first experienced hunger; the cooling spring would not be sought for, if men were never thirsty; health could never be prized, could we not contrast it with sickness; ease is appreciated by the remembrance of pain; and a physician would never be wanted, if it were not for our infirmities; a Saviour would never have been praised, by his redeemed, had they never been in bondage; the

song, ' *Thou hast redeemed us to God, out of every kingdom and nation,*' could never be sung, had redemption not been needed ; a fountain would never have been opened for Judah and Jerusalem to wash in, from sin and uncleanness, had it not been for sin and uncleanness. Then, says my opponent, we may do evil, that good may come. This objection has often been stated to me, in conversation on this subject. My reply is short. There is a self-contradiction in the objection ; to do anything whatever for good, is not a moral transgression. Had Joseph's brethren been taught of God that it was necessary for them to sell Joseph to the Ishmaelites, that he might go down to Egypt, and there prepare for the famine, and they had done it, for the good which God intended, it would have been no more sin in them than there was in the *design* of God. Then it is plain that to do evil that good may come is impossible.

" Again, had Herod, Pontius Pilate, the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, intended the good which God intended in the crucifixion of Christ, *sin* would have been out of the question. St. Paul asks the question to his opposers, after he had argued that *where sin abounded grace did much more abound*, ' Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound ? ' And answers it thus, ' God forbid. How shall we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein ? ' If we are truly enlightened into the nature of the all-abounding grace of the gospel, it causes us to die to sin ; and if we are *dead to sin*, we shall not *live* in it. God has forbidden it, in the nature of things, and rendered it impossible."—pp. 57–59.

The result to which Mr. Ballou came was, that man is dependent in all his volitions, and acts necessarily from the force of circumstances ; and that God has a good object or intention in every volition of man.* After

* We recollect a conversation which Mr. Ballou had, some years afterwards, with an Arminian clergyman, by the name of Whittaker. The question was, whether the human will was *free*, or whether it was not governed in the qualities it saw in the object of choice. The conversation had gone on for some little time, when Mr. Whittaker, to make it appear

answering certain objections to these points, he mentions a third, namely, "If the Almighty govern all the affairs of mankind according to his own appointment; if he were never disappointed; if he suffers no violation of will, but does in all things, and by all things, maintain and support his own eternal system of divine goodness,—what room do we find for the *necessity of atonement*, whereby peace is made by the blood of the cross?" This question brought our author to the second general head of his subject, namely:

SECTION XV. — FALSE SYSTEMS OF ATONEMENT.

His treatment of this subject was in the following form:

evident that a being may act without any perceptible motive, and may choose one of two objects when there was nothing to determine his choice toward one more than towards the other, supposed this case: "A hungry horse is placed between two stacks of hay. The stacks are of equal size; the hay is equally good in either; they are equi-distant from the animal, and there is nothing to draw him towards the one more than towards the other. What, then, is there to determine his choice?" "Well," replied Mr. Ballou, "if the creature you speak of is not governed by circumstances, he will probably stand perfectly still between the two stacks of hay, and *starve to death*!" "No," said Mr. Whittaker, "he will not do that,—he will certainly eat of one or the other before he will starve to death; but to which stack will he turn?" "Well, sir," said Mr. Ballou, "will you inform me why you wish to represent the stacks of hay to be in every respect exactly alike?" "Because," said he, "if I represent one to be better than the other, the animal will certainly turn toward the better one." "Now," said Mr. Ballou, "you have answered your own question; you have yourself shown that the power which determines the choice lies in the object chosen, and not in the creature that chooses. You have shown that the human mind is *not* free, but is governed by circumstances."

First, he exposed the absurdities of the Trinitarian hypotheses of the atonement.

Second, he showed the necessity of atonement, and where satisfaction must be made.

Third, he inquired into the character of the Mediator who made the atonement, and his ability to perform the work. And

Fourth, of atonement in its nature.

Under the first head, he exploded the whole system of satisfying an infinite dissatisfaction. He showed that Christian divines in general had agreed in supposing sin to be an infinite evil, being a violation of an infinite law, which required an infinite sacrifice, short of which no atonement could be made; that the transgression of Adam brought the whole human race into the same situation of sin and misery, and subjected all to the infinite penalty of an infinite law, which they had violated in their parent before they individually existed. After they had, by a common consent, brought all mankind into this situation, these divines took different ways, and devised different systems of atonement to get men out of it; but the systems invented by human wisdom he clearly showed to be absurd, contradictory, unscriptural, and of course false. He attacked with great boldness the doctrine of the Trinity, then universally prevalent; he showed that, as sin was not infinite, the dissatisfaction caused by sin could not be infinite; and, if such a dissatisfaction could exist at all, it must exist forever; for an infinite dissatisfaction could not be removed.

“ We have already sufficiently refuted the idea of an infinite sin, which opens to a plain path, in which the mind may run,

and run clear of all those perplexities which have served to confuse rather than enlighten mankind.

"If sin be not infinite, the dissatisfaction occasioned by sin is not infinite; therefore, an infinite sacrifice is not required. But, for sake of illustration, we will, for a moment, admit that the doctrine of atonement stands on the ground over which we have just gone. I will state it as it is often stated by those who believe it, which is by the likeness of debt and credit. The sinner owed a debt to Divine Justice which he was unable to discharge; the Divine Being cannot, consistently with his honor, dispense with the pay, but says, I must have what is my due; but, as the debtor has not ability to pay the smallest fraction, Divine Wisdom lays a deep-concerted, mysterious plan for the debt to be discharged. And how was it? Why, for God to pay it himself!"—p. 68.

7 Our author proceeds to show that, if the three persons of the Trinity are one God, the acts of the three are to be regarded as the act of one being; yet they are generally regarded by Trinitarians as the acts of three distinct persons. God becomes unreconciled with the work which he himself has done; he cannot forgive his creatures the debt which they owe; his justice will not abate a single particle; God, therefore, in the second person, suffers the penalty and pays the debt to God in the first person; and God, therefore, who became unreconciled at first at what he himself had done, now becomes reconciled for the atonement he has made to himself; and yet, after all, this whole plan is to fail, except in regard to a few,—for the larger part of mankind, it was believed, would be lost forever.

"Look, ye readers, and submit to astonishment at what has been believed in as divine truth. An almighty, infinitely wise and good Being creates an innumerable multitude of rational

intelligences ; they rebel against him, and raise an infinite dissatisfaction in his mind towards them ; this infinite dissatisfaction gets removed toward part of the offenders, by the sacrifice of innocence ! With the rest God is still displeased ; yet he is almighty and infinitely wise, and employs his power and wisdom to make the works of his own hand as miserable as their natures will bear, for being just such creatures as he knew they would be before he made them. But it is argued, that God's knowing what sort of creatures men would be, did not influence them in the smallest degree to be what they are. Let this argument be granted. But did not God know what would influence men to be what they are ? Answer, Yes. Was it in his power to remove this influential cause ? If it was, why did he not do it, if it was like to displease him ? If it was not in his power to prevent the mischief, I wish to know whether it was in the creature's power to prevent it ? If it was not in the power of either of them to prevent the operation of things in the way in which they have and do take place, why is God's anger so warm against his poor, impotent offspring ? It seems an unhappy circumstance for both Creator and creature. The Creator is not satisfied with his creatures ; his creatures find themselves introduced into an existence infinitely worse than none. I am born into this world of sorrow and trouble ; the first vibration of sense is want ; I endeavor to supply my wants, and to maintain my existence, which my Maker has bestowed upon me ; but, as soon as I come to years of understanding, I am told of an *infinite debt* which stands against me, which I owed thousands of years before I was born ; and that my Maker is so angry with me, and has been, ever since the debt was due, that he has prepared a furnace of endless flames to torment me in, according to the due requirements of justice ! My father gives me his farm, and puts me in possession of it ; I am pleased, and prize it very highly. In consequence of my possession, I paint to myself many pleasing prospects ; but, to my mortification, a person comes and presents me with a mortgage of my farm, for five times its value, the mortgage running so as to hold the possessor to clear it ;—I will leave the reader to say whether my father was kind or unkind. Yet, the

circumstance into which the Almighty has introduced millions of his creatures is infinitely worse, according to the doctrine which I am examining. It is argued, with much assurance, that God has a just right to do with his creatures as he pleases, because he has it in his power so to do; and that he never does anything because it is right, but what he does is right because he does it.

"If the above statement is just, moral holiness consists in the power of action, and not in the disposition that designs the action. If so, my argument in favor of sin's existing only in the design of the actor, and not in the action, is groundless; and we are driven to say that unholiness, or sin, is the *want* of power to perform an action, and holiness consists in having the power to do it. One man designs to murder another for his money; he makes the attempt, and fails; his sin consisted in not having power to execute his designs, but in the design there is no evil. On the other hand, he makes the attempt, and succeeds; here is no evil at all, because he had power to do it. On this principle, everything that can be done is moral holiness, and everything that cannot be done is sin or moral evil.

"Here we are presented with a picture the most to be dreaded of anything which the imagination of man is capable of inventing. Power moving on in front, exhibiting tyrannic majesty in every action; and meagre justice in the rear, obsequiously pronouncing all right! If these things are so, our senses are nothing but mediums of deception, and all our experience has served us no other purpose than to make us more ignorant. Who is there in the world, possessing common sense, that does not dread and revolt from power in every instance where they see it connected with an evil disposition! Are we right in wishing our enemies weak? We are, and that, because their strength, being directed by their wicked designs, gives us fear."—pp. 75—77.

SECTION XVI.—TRUE VIEW OF ATONEMENT.

Having in several methods exposed the absurdities and contradictions of the modern systems of atonement, the

author seeks to lead his hearers to see the nature of atonement in the scriptural sense of the term.

“*Atonement signifies reconciliation, or satisfaction, which is the same. It is a being unreconciled to truth and justice who needs reconciliation; and it is a dissatisfied being who needs satisfaction. Therefore, I raise my inquiry on the question, Is God the unreconciled or dissatisfied party, or is it man?*” — p. 98.

* * * * *

“I shall now endeavor to prove, from scripture, that the atonement by Christ was the *effect*, and not the *cause*, of God's love to man. See St. John 3 : 16, — ‘For God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him might not perish, but have everlasting life.’ According to this passage, nothing is more plain, in scripture, than the idea that what Christ did for sinners was a consequence of God's love to them. Again, verse 17, — ‘For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved.’ This passage says that *God* did not send his Son into the world to condemn the world; but, according to the general idea of atonement, *Christ* stood as the *proxy* of *man*, and the world was tried in him, and condemned in him, and in him suffered the penalty of the law which man had transgressed. It is also said in the text, that Christ was sent that the world through him might be saved; which, if true, goes to prove that the Father's object, in Christ's coming into the world, was the salvation of the sinner, and not for the removing of any dissatisfaction in himself towards them. Again, see Romans 5 : 8, — ‘But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were *yet sinners*, Christ died for us.’ As the *death* of *Christ* is here spoken of as a *commendation* of God's love to us, it ought to be considered as an *effect*, and not the *cause*, of that love. Again, 1 Epistle of John 4 : 9, — ‘In this was manifested the love of *God* towards us, because that God sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him.’ If Christ's coming into the world was a manifestation of God's love to us, this love must have existed before he came, and his coming was an *effect* produced by it.

Verse 10, 'Herein is love, not that *we loved God*, but that *he loved us*, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.' Verse 19, 'We love him, because he *first* loved us.'

"From those passages, and many more which might be quoted to the same effect, it is easy to learn that what the Mediator did for sinners was the *consequence*, and not the *cause*, of God's love to us. God being infinite in all his glorious attributes, he can by no means love at one time, and hate the same object at another. His divine omniscency comprehended all the events of time and eternity; therefore, nothing could take place to remove his love from an object on which it was placed. The Almighty had no occasion to dislike Adam, after transgression, any more than he had even before he made him; for, He knew as well then that he would sin as He did after it was actually done. The reason that we mortals love an object at one time, and dislike it at another, is the weakness of our understandings; we have not always the same view of the same object. We may alight an object of great value, its excellences being out of our sight; and we may set our affections on one of no value, by erroneously attaching a value to it which it does not possess. But the Infinitely Wise is subject to no mistakes; he comprehends the whole futuration of all moral beings, and loves them as his own offspring, with a love consistent with his immutable existence. Therefore, it is evident that God was not the unreconciled, and, of course, did not require an atonement to reconcile himself to his creatures."—pp. 99—101.

Thus it will be seen that Mr. Ballou did not believe that God ever needed a sacrifice to reconcile himself to man; but, on the contrary, he so loved sinners that he was pleased to deliver up his Son to death for our good, in attestation of his love.

SECTION XVII.—PERSON OF THE MEDIATOR.

Having thus clearly proved these facts, he passed to consider the person of the Mediator. Was he the second

person in the Trinity? or was he a created being,—a man approved of God among us, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him? He maintained that the Mediator was a created, dependent being.

“That he is a created being, is proved from Rev. 3 : 14, where he is said to be ‘the beginning of the creation of God.’ His dependency is proved by his frequent prayers to the Father. That he acknowledged a superior when on earth, is evident from many passages which might be quoted. See St. John 5 : 19. Christ here says, ‘The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do.’ He acknowledged a superior in wisdom,—see Matthew 24 : 36. ‘But of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only.’ This passage implies that he did not know of that day himself. St. Mark is still more explicit,—see chap. 13 : 32. ‘But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.’ And, further, that he acknowledges a superior, even in his risen glory, may be proved from his own words to his servant John, on the Isle of Patmos,—see Rev. 3 : 12. ‘Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of *my God*, and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of *my God*, and the name of the city of *my God*, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from *my God*, and I will write upon him my new name.’ Four times, in the above passage, he acknowledges a being whom he worships. Again, see Psalm 14 : 7,—‘Thou lovest righteousness and hatest wickedness, *because* God, thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.’ The reader will observe I have ventured to put the word *because*, in room of the word *therefore*, in this quotation; but I have not done it without the authority of a former translation. The difference is so essential, I cannot dispense with it. Observe, the writer of the Psalm addresses one God, and speaks in his address of another,—see verse 6 : ‘Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.’ This God is dependent on another,

expressed in the 7th verse,—*Because* God, thy God, hath anointed thee, &c. That the names *God*, *Lord*, and *everlasting Father*, are applied to Christ, I shall not dispute; neither shall I dispute the propriety of it; but I do not admit that they mean the self-existent Jehovah, when applied to the Mediator. In the quotation from the Psalm, Christ is said to be anointed *above his fellows*. Fellows are equals. Who are Christ's equals? Perhaps the reader may say they are the Father and the Holy Spirit; but I can hardly believe that Christ was anointed with the oil of gladness above his Father, neither do I believe any one will contend for it. I am sensible that God speaks, by the prophet, of smiting the man who is his *fellow*; but this fellowship must be different from the one just spoken of, and stands only in an official sense. The reader will then ask, if I would consider the Mediator no more than equal with men. I answer, Yes, were it not, that our Father and his Father, our God and his God, hath anointed him above his fellows. See Philippians 2: 9,—‘Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name.’ For this exaltation and name he was dependent on his Father, and received them from him. This name, which is above every name, is the name of God, named on Jesus. It will be said, Christ taught the people that *he* and his *Father* were *one*. I grant he did; and, if that proves him to be essentially God, the argument must run further than the objector would wish to have it. See St. John 17: 11,—Christ prays that his disciples may be *one*, even as *he* and the *Father* are *one*. The oneness of the Father and Son is their union and agreement in the great work which he has undertaken; and he prayed that his disciples might be as well agreed in the gospel of salvation as he and his Father were,—see verse 18: ‘As thou hast sent me into the world, so have I also sent them into the world.’ The Father of all mercies sent his Son Jesus into the world for a certain purpose; and there was a perfect agreement between them in all things. He says he came not to do his *own will*, but the *will* of *him* who sent him. And again, ‘My meat and drink is to do the will of him who sent me, and to finish *his* work.’”—pp. 108—110.

With these, and many more scriptural arguments, the author of the treatise proved that Jesus was a created being; that he prayed to his Father; that he acknowledged the Father's superiority to him; that he worshipped the Father, and derived all his power from him; consequently, he was a distinct being from the Father, and was in no sense the Supreme God.

The next question considered was, whether this mediator had the power or ability to perform the great work of the atonement, which is the reconciliation of the world to God. On this subject Mr. Ballou entertained no doubt; he proved the fact abundantly by the testimony of the Scriptures. All power in heaven and on earth was given to Jesus. He is able to reconcile all things unto himself; that is to say, he is able fully to carry out the purposes of the atonement.

SECTION XVIII.—NATURE OF ATONEMENT.

Lastly, under the head of atonement, Mr. Ballou came to consider its nature. It is the same as reconciliation. It is the bringing of men to love God, and one another, by the manifestation of the love of God to them.

“Atonement by Christ was never intended to perform impossibilities; therefore, it was never designed to make men agree, and live in peace, while they are destitute of love one to another; but it is calculated and designed to inspire the mind with that true love which will produce peace in Jesus. As atonement is a complete fulfilment of the law of the heavenly man, it causes its recipient to love God and his fellow-creatures in as great a degree as he partakes of its nature. Ask one brought out of

darkness into the marvellous light of the gospel how God appears to him, and he will answer, more glorious than he can describe. Ask him how he feels towards his fellow-men, and he will say, even of his enemies, he wishes them no worse than to enjoy the blessings of divine favor. In times of refreshing how many thousands have been heard to speak of the goodness of the Lord, and of the infinite fulness of his grace; and with what love, affection and fervency, have they invited their fellow-men to the rich provisions of the gospel!

"The earth, in time of drought, ceases to be fruitful; the streams and springs thereof are dried up; the fields put off their robes of green, and gardens afford no fragrant delights; but when the heavens give the wonted blessing in gentle showers, how suddenly is the face of nature changed! The purling rill murmurs through the mead, pastures and fields teem with vegetation, and gardens blush with enamelled beauties. So the soul, unwatered with the rain of righteousness, and destitute of the waters of eternal life, is like a barren fig-tree that yields no wholesome fruit. But behold the transition! the moment atoning grace is effective in the mind, the parched ground becomes a pool, and the thirsty land streams of water. The soul is like the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them by whom they are dressed; and, like a garden well watered and cultivated, yielding all manner of precious fruits."—pp. 126, 127.

SECTION XIX. — CONSEQUENCES OF ATONEMENT.

And now we come to the last general head of the work; namely, "The consequence of atonement to mankind;" and this, in brief, is, "the universal holiness and happiness of mankind, in the final issue of the Redeemer's process."—p. 131. Into this subject Mr. B. goes more at length than into any other. It was with him a great, a principal theme. It was this doctrine which had

formed the subject of his change of mind fifteen years before, when he was born anew, as it were, into the kingdom, and left the church of which his honored father had been pastor. It had engrossed his attention; it had won his heart; it had been the absorbing theme of his meditations. He had professed it because he had found it clearly taught in the word of God; and what should be more natural, then, than that he should give a large section of the book to the defence of it? Besides, any system of atonement was imperfect which did not secure the accomplishment of the object for which it was designed. In every respect, then, the doctrine of the final holiness and happiness of all men was of great value in the sight of Mr. Ballou. We do not propose, however, to describe at great length the evidences by which he sustained that doctrine.

In the first place, he answered the common objections which prevailed in his day. These objections were,—
 1st. That the greatest possible good of the universe required the endless damnation of a part of the human race. 2^d. A God all mercy is a God unjust. 3^d. Men are free agents; life and death are set before them, and salvation is uncertain. 4th. Punishment is expressly said in the Scriptures to be everlasting. 5th. Various passages of scripture, which have been used to prove the doctrine of endless misery, are explained, and showed not to teach that doctrine; as Mal. 4: 1, Matt. 3: 10, 12; 5: 29, 30; 12: 31, 32; 13: 30; the whole of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew, 1 Thess. 7-9, and some other passages.

Having answered these objections, he comes to the

direct topic, the scriptural evidence of the salvation of all men. Among other passages, he quoted the promise to Abraham, Gal. 3 : 8,—“ And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall nations be blessed.” On this promise he breaks forth as follows :

“ What a glorious foundation for hope is here ! How blessed was Abraham when he rejoiced in the day of Jesus ! How blessed were the prophets of the Lord who saw these things, though afar off ! The sight weaned their affections from all earthly things ; they sought a city which hath *foundation*, whose builder and maker is God. O, thanks be to my God, since I can call thee so ; the belief of this, thy promise, produces as much heaven as I am able to bear while in the body !”— p. 181.

How strong the hold which the doctrine of Universalism had on his heart ! It filled his soul with joy. His cup of bliss ran over. He had a strong faith ; and the stronger his faith, the greater his joy. Some persons have supposed that Mr. Ballou was not capable of high devotional feeling, of ardent spiritual exercises, and of high love to God. How little have such known the man ! They have regarded him as a man of cool head, of calm reasoning powers, but not capable of enthusiasm and spiritual exultation. That he possessed the cool head and the logical mind is not to be denied ; but he possessed, also, the tender sensibilities of a Christian. Gratitude, love and joy, were almost constant exercises of his soul.

We will give one more passage on the evidences of Universalism.

“Let us pass to the prophecies of Isaiah; see chap. 25 : 6, 7, 8,— ‘And in this mountain shall the Lord of hosts make unto *all* people a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined. And he will destroy in this mountain the *face* of the *covering* cast over *all* people, and the vail that is spread over *all* nations. He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall be taken away from off *all* the earth: for the Lord hath spoken it.’ No one will doubt that the provisions here spoken of are those which are provided in the gospel of salvation.

“In the first place, then, observe, it is made for *all* people; this proves that it was the intention of him who made the feast that *all* people should share of its divine benefits.

“2d. It is testified that the vail of darkness, which was over *all* people, should, finally, be taken away.

“3dly. That death is to be swallowed up in victory, and tears wiped off *all* faces. And,

“Lastly. That the rebuke of God’s people should be taken from off *all* the earth. And the evidence given to prove it would all be done is, the Lord hath spoken it.

“It is of no avail for any to pretend that, though the provisions of the gospel were provided for *all* people, yet *all* will not partake of them, let the reasons be what they may; for, if God wipes tears from off *all* faces, *all* must receive the benefits of gospel grace and peace. Compare this testimony with 1 Cor. 15 : 54,— ‘So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.’ Again, with Rev. 21 : 4, ‘And God shall wipe away *all* tears from their eyes, and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away.’ How can it be justly said that death is swallowed up in victory, when the fact is, death will reign as long as God exists! Or, how can it be said that God shall wipe *all* tears from the eyes of men, if millions are to mourn to an endless eternity? Or, why is it said, there

shall be no more sorrow, crying nor pain, if sorrow, crying and infinite pain, are never to cease? Isaiah 9 : 6, 7, the Saviour is prophesied of as possessing a kingdom, the increase of which should have no end. To the same purpose, see also Daniel 7 : 14,— ‘ And there was given him *dominion* and *glory*, and a kingdom, that *all people*, nations and languages, should serve him ; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.’

“ Observe, ‘ *All people, nations, and languages, shall serve him.*’ If a great part of the human race are to exist in endless rebellion against Christ and his kingdom, it seems that the prophet was not only ignorant of it, but believed the reverse. Isaiah 49 : 6, ‘ And he said, it is a light thing that thou shouldst be my servant, to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel : I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my *salvation* unto the ends of the earth.’ Verse 8, ‘ I will preserve thee, and give thee for a *covenant* of the people,’ &c.

“ For the strength of this *covenant* see Jer. 33 : 20,— ‘ Thus saith the Lord ; if ye can break my covenant of the day, and my covenant of the night, and that there should not be day and night in their season ; then may also my covenant be broken with David my servant,’ &c.

“ When men are possessed of sufficient *agency* to stop the wheels of time, to arrest the motion of the solar system, and to disannul God’s covenant with day and night, then day and night will depend on the *will* of man. So, likewise, when he has *agency* to disannul that covenant which is ordered, and in *all things* sure, then his eternal salvation will depend on himself, and not on his God.”—pp. 183—185.

Observe, how he links the Old Testament with the New. Isaiah had said, “ He will swallow up death in victory, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces.” This passage, as Mr. Ballou shows, was quoted by the apostle Paul, and applied to the immortal

state. Whatever was the original sense of the passage as delivered by the prophet, Mr. Ballou saw that the apostle applied it to the state of incorruption and immortality. Observe, too, how careful he was to show that the covenant of God was *sure*. When men can break the covenant of the day and of the night, so that there shall not be day and night in proper season, then can they disannul the promise of our God. Mr. Ballou believed that man possessed no agency by which he could disannul God's covenant, or derange His plans.

Mr. Ballou had quoted the passage, 1 Cor. 15: 28,—
 “And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son, also, himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.” He reasons on this subject in the following manner:

“What must we understand by all things being *subdued* unto him? Will any one say, all that is meant by it is, Christ will then have power over *all* men, whereby he can reward the righteous and torment the wicked? When did he not possess this power? When were not all things in subjection to Christ, enough for those purposes? The subjection of all things to Christ must mean something, and it is reasonable to believe that it means the reconciliation of the heart to holiness. Can a soul in sin, employed in blaspheming the Incommunicable Name, be said to be in subjection to Christ in any way that answers to the text? I do not think any will contend for it.

“The only subjection which is acceptable to Christ is a broken and contrite heart, which he will not despise. The plan, then, of the gospel, is universal submission to Christ, in holiness and happiness.

“The delivery of the kingdom of Christ to the Father is declared in the last clause of the passage quoted, of which I have before taken notice in this work, in order to show the

dependence of Christ on the Eternal and Self-existent. 'Then,' it is said, 'God shall be *all* in *all*.' In what sense will God be *all* in *all*, at the close of the Redeemer's process, that he is not now, or always was? Answer, He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. When *all* men are brought to love God supremely, and their fellow-creatures as themselves, it will then be manifest that we are nothing only as we exist in God; therefore, God will be *all*. And, as the eternal spirit of love, which is the governing principle of the heavenly man, will be the governing principle of each soul thus reconciled to the law of love, it may justly be said that God is *in all*. See verses 47, 48, 49, 'The first man is of the earth, earthy; the second man is the Lord from heaven. As is the earthy, such are they, also, that are earthy; and, as is the heavenly, such are they, also, that are heavenly. And, as we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.' As we have all been partakers of the earthy Adam, so the apostle argues we shall be partakers in the resurrection of the Second Adam, whom he calls the Lord from heaven. See verses 51, 52, 53, 54, 'Behold, I show you a mystery: we shall not all sleep, but we shall *all* be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So, when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.'

"If death, sin and sorrow, are to remain as long as God exists, how can it be said death is swallowed up in victory? If the apostle believed any part of the family of man would finally be excluded from the blessings of the gospel, why did he not just hint something of it in this account of the close of the Mediatorial kingdom? Did he consider it a matter of *too small moment to mention*? If he *did*, he is *inexcusable* for precluding the idea, by *plain* and *positive testimony*. See his conclusion, — 'O death! where is thy sting? O grave! where is thy victory!'

The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the law, but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' If sin remains without end, it being the *sting* of death, when the question is asked, 'O death, where is thy *sting*?' sin may answer, 'Here I am, and here I will be, in spite of him who undertook to destroy the works of the devil, and here I will boast of my power as long as he does of his whom angels adore and I hate!' Phil. 3 : 21, 'Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able *even* to subdue *all things* unto himself.' Observe, who shall change our vile body. In a former quotation, it is said, 'we shall *all* be changed;' and in the present passage it is said, 'whereby he is able even to subdue *all things* unto himself.'—pp. 195—198.

Having laid before his reader some of the principal evidences of Universalism, he summed them up in the following manner, and submitted such reflections as seemed to him suitable to the subject: ✕

"We now see clearly that it is God's will, according to his eternal purpose, purposed in himself, that *all* men shall finally be *holy* and *happy*; that it was the intention of the Saviour's mission; that the prophets, by the spirit of prophecy, long foresaw this universal and godlike glorious plan of grace; that every good principle in man stands up in testimony of so divine a system, that the happiness of all moral beings is wrapped up in the glorious issue of the ministration of reconciliation, and that it is, in reality, opposed by none, but by *unreconciled* beings, unholy principles, and unlawful desires. And shall we say the eternal good will of Him who dwelt in the bush must fail at last? Must the testimony of the prophets fall to the ground? Must the Captain of our salvation, who warred in righteousness, who reddened his garments in his own blood, who bore the sins of the world, and suffered death, in agony, to obtain his lawful inheritance, be robbed of them at last? Were this believed in heaven,

the royal diadem would fall from the head of him whom all heaven adores, and the highest archangel would faint away! But, blessed be the Lord, and blessed be his truth, its divine power shall cause the leviathan of infidelity to bite the ground, shall rend the vail which is cast over all nations, and shall more and more manifest divine righteousness and the name in which it is found, in which name alone is salvation. In the days of the apostles, the greatest object in preaching the gospel of Christ was to prove him to be the Saviour of the world, the true Messiah of the law; urging that he died for *all*, that he made no distinction between Jew and Gentile, but had broken down the partition-wall between them, for the glorious purpose of making, of the *twain, one new man*, in everlasting fellowship and eternal peace. But how hath the gold changed, how hath the most fine gold become dim! The main apparent object, at the present day, is to prove the object of the Saviour's mission, as it respects the salvation of sinners, extremely limited, and that but few of the human race will finally be the redeemed of the Lord to the praise of his glory; that the great adversary of righteousness will obtain a much larger conquest of souls than Christ himself; and, O, shocking to name, eternal justice is profaned, by being called to assist the serpent's designs, in the endless duration of sin and rebellion against God! Those whom the Lord hath blessed with a belief of universal holiness and happiness are proscribed as heretics, infidels, offscourings of the earth, friends to nothing but sin, and enemies to nothing but *God and holiness*; opening a door to licentiousness of every abominable species, destroyers of the pure religion of Christ, and nuisances to society. But is it, in reality, manifesting a love to sin to argue its total destruction by the power of divine righteousness? Is it manifesting enmity against God and the religion of Jesus to contend for the propriety of all men's serving him, in *holiness and happiness*? And are we nuisances to society because we endeavor to persuade all men to love God and one another? Can these things be displeasing to him who was born in Bethlehem? Will he not rather greatly bless such labors, though performed by

those as little esteemed in the world as were the poor fishermen who left their nets and followed the despised Nazarene?

“Let us ask a few questions. Which reflects the most honor on the Divine Character, to contend it was necessary for him to create millions of rational creatures to hate him, and every divine communication he makes to them to all eternity, to live in endless rebellion against him, and endure inconceivable torments as long as God exists? or, to suppose him able and willing to make all his rational creatures love and adore him, yield obedience to his divine law, and exist in union and happiness with himself?

“Which reflects most honor on the Saviour, to say that but few will obtain salvation by him, and, though he died for all men, yet his death will benefit but few; or, to say with the prophet, ‘He shall see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied, having reconciled all things to God, through the peace made by the blood of the cross’?

“If there be joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance, which would yield the most joy to the heavenly hosts, the repentance of one-fourth of mankind, or the whole? If the servants of Christ here on earth desire the *increase of holiness*, and the *decrease of sin*, which would be most agreeable to such a desire, the belief that the greatest part of mankind will grow *more and more sinful to all eternity*; or, to believe that *sin* will continually *decrease* and *righteousness increase*, until the former is wholly *destroyed*, and the latter becomes *universal*?

“To answer the above questions so as to favor my opponent’s argument, is more than any one would be willing to do; and which, if done, would involve an endless train of ideas too glaringly absurd to be supported. But, to answer them agreeably to the nature of divine truth, opens to infinite beauties more serene than the morning, and more glorious than the noon-day. God, the fountain of living waters, and the essence of eternal life, is seen, by faith in Jesus, the same to all rational beings, the author, supporter and blessing of them. Christ Jesus, the head of every man, is beheld as the brightness of the Father’s glory, and express image of his person, through whom

the Eternal hath manifested the riches of his grace, the eternal counsels of his love to the world, brought life and immortality to light, and manifested our eternal sonship in the Second Adam. Each holy desire, as the fruit of the Spirit in the souls of those who believe, feasts on the rich promises of Abraham's God, believing him faithful who hath promised. Heaven hath already received the heave-offering of the first ripe fruits, and the fields are white, ready to harvest. O, ye laborers in the vineyard of the Lord, be ye not idle! What an extensive field is here in which the mind can expand and send its desires abroad! The transcendent beauties of salvation have visited the dark regions of mortality, as light and heat from the vernal sun visits the cold and dark north, turning frozen lands into fruitful fields, taking the icy fetters from limpid streams, which bend their course to the ocean, bringing the time of the singing of birds, and causing the voice of the turtle to be heard." — pp. 202—203.

We think there is a force in this passage which will impress upon the present reader's mind an idea of the style of Mr. Ballou's preaching at the time he wrote the "Treatise." As we read the passage, although it be not a part of a sermon, it requires but a slight exercise of fancy, in us, to think that we see him in the full glow of a pulpit effort, and hear the words proceeding from his lips. How would such a passage, delivered in all the vigor of his early manhood, without note or scrip before him, have moved an audience in those early days! The doctrine he believed he was ready, on all proper occasions, to preach; and his sermons were frequently of a controversial character. He spoke extemporaneously, except that he was accustomed to contemplate his *subject* before delivery. — Let this digression be pardoned.

SECTION XX. — CONCLUSION OF THE TREATISE.

As Mr. Ballou drew towards the end of the Treatise, he devoted a paragraph to the moral influence of the doctrine he had defended :

“ As the doctrine of universal holiness and happiness opens an infinite field in which the mind can expatiate, and learn the goodness of God in all his works and providence, it is the most animating to a benevolent soul of any that was ever believed in our world, and lays the broadest foundation for exhortation to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live sober, righteous and godly lives. How strong are the inducements, from such glorious views of God and his mercy, to lead us to imitate such unbounded goodness, in all our intentions and actions! And, being fully convinced that our happiness is in union with our duty, those who fully believe in the consequences of atonement, as I have argued them, will see the propriety of my endeavoring to stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance, exhorting them to good works in all faithfulness, in whatever situation duty may call us, or whatever the part may be which our heavenly Father hath called us to act, in his divine and delightful service. The duty enjoined on the believer of this doctrine is as much more extensive than the duty enjoined by any other faith as the faith itself is more extensive, — and its delights are so likewise. If a poor man was offered a thousand pounds for a day’s labor, it would undoubtedly be a very strong inducement to him to labor. But it is to be observed, in this case, that it is not the *labor itself* which is the object, but the *large sum of money* with which the laborer expects to be rewarded. It is not the *labor* in which the man delights; could he obtain his *money*, without the *work*, it would be his choice. But when the *labor itself* is all the *enjoyment*, and the *whole object* is *obedience*, the laborer will not wish the *time short*, or the *duty small*; no, *eternity is none too long for the soul to contemplate living in the endless delights of obedience to his God.*

“Those who believe a future state of happiness depends on certain duties performed by them, undoubtedly intend to do those duties some time before they die ; and it is often said, that a procrastination of those duties, on which so much depends, is dangerous, as life is uncertain ; yet, they had rather let it alone until old age deprives them of the common comforts of life, at which time they may about as well be employed in the *dull and disagreeable task* of being *good* as anything else. But those who consider their duty as their meat and drink ought not to need much inviting to feed on dainties so rich. We should hardly believe a man to be in his right mind, who, for eating a good meal of victuals, should charge the price of it. ‘*In keeping thy commandments there is great reward.*’ By these observations, the reader will see how needful it is for us at all times to attend to our duty, because ‘*now* is the accepted time, and *now* is the day of salvation ;’ to every willing and obedient soul, who feels the power of atoning grace, *salvation* is present. Truly it is said of wisdom, ‘She hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars ; she hath killed her beasts ; she hath mingled her wine ; she hath also furnished her table.’ God, in infinite wisdom, has constituted all moral beings so that their duty is their happiness, and strict obedience fulness of joy. Why, then, my brethren, shall we starve ? Why live poor ? Why should we be so parsimonious of those heavenly stores that can never be exhausted ? ‘Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.’ ‘Ask, and ye shall receive ; seek, and ye shall find ; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.’ God forbids none ; ‘the Spirit and the bride say come ; and let him that heareth say come ; and whosoever will, let him take of the fountain of the water of life freely.’ Remember, the salvation which God wills is a salvation *from sin*. Then, as much as you desire salvation, you will wish to avoid sin and wickedness. There are none who would say they did not want salvation ; but how few there are who say they want it by their own conduct ! No man, understandingly, wants salvation any further than he wants more holiness. The Universalist, who is really so, prizes his duty as his heaven, as his peace, and his most sublime enjoyment.

How, then, shall we be so lost, so blind, and so deceived, as to wish to shun our duty and our happiness? If we really believe those things, and desire that others may be brought to see and believe the same, let us endeavor, in the first place, to prove to all men that such a belief is of real service in cultivating our morals, and in regulating our behavior; and, secondly, by using our abilities as God hath given, in cool dispassionate reasoning with those who do not believe; contending for nothing but the pure principles of love, in meekness and all gentleness. Never argue for *will's* sake, nor for mastery; and, shunning every appearance of *sophistry*, never suffer yourselves to be anxious about the issue of conversation, but speak the words of truth and soberness, and leave the event to be directed by the Spirit of God. Falsehood is so apt to detect itself, that an argument is generally best conducted when the disputant is refuted by consequences arising from his own statements; and, if he cannot see and understand them for himself, it will do no good to see them for him. If we can see for ourselves, we do well. If the Lord of the harvest hath graciously been pleased to call you by his grace, to preach the word of his gospel to his purchased possession,—to sound abroad the trumpet of salvation, and to feed the sheep and lambs of the one true shepherd,—then remember that it is required of stewards that they are found faithful.” — pp. 207—210.

The duty to imitate God, and the union of our happiness with our duty, were always favorite subjects with Mr. Ballou. He desired to have men love God and goodness; because, if they loved God, they would love to serve him, and if they loved religion, virtue, goodness, they would practise them for their own moral fitness and beauty. Men would not, in that case, yield an outward service, for the mere sake of a reward in which the heart did not concur. The common idea of rewards and punishments he believed to be exceedingly injurious, especially when connected with the belief that the service

of God is a hard service. If Christians will bring themselves to believe that it is their meat and drink to do the will of God, they will not only imitate their Saviour, but they will regard it as a blessed privilege to serve God. They will say, with the Psalmist, "In keeping thy commandments is great reward;" and with the Son of God, "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."

We now come to the conclusion of the Treatise. The author was about to take leave of his reader. He breathes out the feelings of his heart in the following manner :

" You have now, kind reader, cast your eye over these pages ; perhaps you feel to say, ' The doctrine of universal holiness and happiness cannot be true, notwithstanding all the author has said in favor of it ; ' and, if so, I condemn you not. The time has been when I believed as little of the doctrine as you now do ; I never adopted the belief of universal holiness and happiness out of choice, but from the *force of real or supposed evidence*. And I know you cannot believe it on any other ground. I hope, however, you feel no enmity to so glorious a system of God's grace ; I hope you have the spirit of Christ, and wish well to mankind. I have, be sure, great consolation in believing that my Redeemer has many faithful servants and loving disciples in the world, who do not believe in the extensiveness of salvation, as I do ; and I often take great satisfaction, in feasts of charity, with such brethren. St. Peter was undoubtedly a lover of Christ and his gospel before he was taught by the sea of Joppa to call no man common or unclean. The rest of the disciples, who were dissatisfied with his preaching the gospel to the uncircumcised, were doubtless possessed of the spirit of Christ, which caused them to glorify God when they had more extensive views of the gospel through Peter's communications. As far as I see men walk in the spirit of love to God and one another, I feel an union with them, whether their

particular sentiments are mine or not. Men cannot believe at will; we believe as evidence appears to our mind. The times have been when each denomination has been proscribed, and, in some measure, persecuted. Each as it rose has been censured by those who could not fall in with their doctrine; and what does all this condemning one another prove, only the imperfections of all, and the badness of the human heart! You will not think evil of me, kind reader, if I exhort you not to feel too hard against what you may find to be your duty to acknowledge. It grieved Peter when his Lord asked him the third time if he loved him, as he had denied him thrice. There are many Universalists now who have frequent occasion to confess how hard they have been against the doctrine, and how much they have spoken unadvisedly with their lips against what they now rejoice to believe is truth, and humbly adore the Saviour of sinners for opening their eyes to behold such unspeakable beauties. If you attend to the exhortation to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, undoubtedly you may see more of the riches of his goodness than you now do. The prophet Ezekiel's knowledge of the holy waters was progressive, and obtained by degrees: when he was first led into the waters, they were only to his ankles; but he went still further, and they were to his knees; he went still further, and they were to his loins; he went further, and the waters were *risen*, waters for men to swim in, a *river* that no man could pass. Had the prophet refused to travel in these waters, after he first entered them, he would not have known nor believed them to be so plentiful as they were. A soul, in the earliest moments of heavenly love, is first unspeakably charmed with the untold beauties and graces of his Redeemer; next, wife, children, father, mother, brothers, sisters, all friends, directly enemies, and finally all mankind, are embraced in the extended arms of heavenly love and divine benevolence.

"I close this work, humbly hoping and expecting the glorious increase and extensive growth of what I have (though feebly) contended for, namely, the holiness and happiness of mankind. I look, with strong expectation, for that period when all sin and every degree of unreconciliation will be destroyed by the

divine power of that love which is stronger than death, which many waters cannot quench, nor the floods drown; in which alone I put my trust, and in which my hope is anchored for all mankind; earnestly praying that the desire of the righteous may not be cut off.

“The fulness of times will come, and the times of the restitution of all things will be accomplished. Then shall truth be victorious, and all error flee to eternal night. Then shall universal songs of honor be sung to the praise of him who liveth for ever and ever. All death, sorrow and crying, shall be done away: pains and disorders shall be no more felt, temptations no more trouble the lovers of God, nor sin poison the human heart. The blessed hand of the once crucified shall wipe tears from off all faces. O, transporting thought! Then shall the blessed Saviour see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied, when, through his mediation, universal nature shall be brought in perfect union with truth and holiness, and the Spirit of God fill all rational beings. Then shall the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus, which maketh free from the law of sin, become the governing principle of the whole man once made subject to vanity; once enthralled in darkness, sin and misery; but then delivered from the bondage of corruption, and restored to perfect reconciliation to God, in the heavenly Adam. Then shall the great object of the Saviour's mission be accomplished. Then shall the question be asked, O death, where is thy sting? But death shall not be to give the answer. And, O grave, where is thy victory? But the boaster shall be silent. The Son shall deliver up the kingdom to God the Father; the eternal radiance shall *smile*, and God *shall be ALL in ALL.*”—pp. 214—216.

One cannot read this concluding paragraph without being agreeably impressed with the kind and catholic spirit Mr. B. manifests. He would condemn no one who did not believe what he had written, for there was a time when he did not believe it himself. He regarded it as a calamity, rather than a crime, for a person not to

entertain so cheering a faith. He loved Christians of all sects; he loved opportunities of communion with them; he loved to mingle in their feasts of charity. Many a disciple of Jesus had not come to the full knowledge of the truth. He exhorted the reader to keep his mind open to conviction, and his heart ready to receive every sweet influence, that he might "grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." Mr. Ballou could not refrain from looking forward to the good time coming, when the doctrine he had advanced, then so little known, and so much despised because so little known, would greatly increase. The prospect of the final holiness and happiness of all men sent a thrill of joy through his soul. It was to him a transporting thought. And, as the pen of our author traced the last line of his new work, his mind dwelt on the sublime fact that sin shall end; that the spirit of Jesus shall possess every heart; that death shall be despoiled of its sting, the grave of its victory, and God shall be ALL IN ALL!

SECTION XXI. — GENERAL REMARKS ON THE TREATISE.

We have thus given a description of Mr. Ballou's famous work, the Treatise on Atonement. We have described it at the greater length, because, considering the time when it was written, and the influence it exerted, it is by far the most important work he ever wrote. It gives his system of Universalism. Whether he sought at the time to bring out a *system* of theology, we do not know; we think it is doubtful whether he had ever attempted to mature a system. He merely wrote as he

then believed, not presuming that many years afterwards he would remain of the same opinion. And yet such is the fact; for, although in some minor points he would subsequently have corrected the work, and did make some slight changes in it, yet in respect to all the essential parts of it he remained of the same opinion until his death. The finite nature of sin; the super-directing care of God over the concerns of his creatures; the absoluteness of God's will; his eternal and unchangeable benevolence, rendering all change unnecessary to reconcile him to man; the exhibition of his love through Jesus Christ, which constituted the basis of the ministry of reconciliation, and the grand result as shown in the final holiness and happiness of all mankind; — on these great subjects his mind never afterwards changed. These were the leading points in the work. It is not disputed, had the writing of the Treatise been delayed for forty years, the phraseology in some parts would have been different, and certain fanciful notions of "creation" and "formation," "law" and "penalty," which the author at first held, would not have appeared; * yet, we repeat,

* The following, from the pen of Rev. Russell Streever, may be aptly introduced here :

"I have now, for the first time for more than thirty years, I presume, again read, and carefully looked over, the '*Treatise on Atonement*,' by Father Ballou. It has been a great intellectual treat to me. The book is a wonder, considering the day and the circumstances in which it was produced. There is a bold argument — original and powerful — running through it, which I can but admire. This is the book from which, more than forty years ago, I learned the Unitarian doctrine of the Bible. I was a Universalist before, and have been so ever since. In this modern edition I do not find the *fanciful* notions concerning the *creation* and *formation* of man, which were first published and greatly

in all the essential features, it would have remained the same. Although he probably was not aware of the fact when he wrote the Treatise, yet that work embraced the body of divinity which he held through the remainder of his life. It must be remembered, it was a system he had never heard of; it was a system which none of his seniors in the ministry had adopted or suggested; it was a system which was generally unknown in the country; but it was a system which, so far as the subject of atonement is concerned, has since been adopted by all Universalists and Unitarians in our country. The book had a very wide influence. It was not written in the beautiful diction of modern times. Mr. Ballou sought to state truth directly and plainly. The illustrations with which the work abounds were quaint, but they were to the point; and they greatly assisted the reader in comprehending the author's meaning. Said the present Dr. Ballou, in 1848: "Young as we were, we faintly remember the eagerness with which it was sought on its first appearance, and the confidence with which its arguments were repeated as unanswerable." The same writer said, "The work has never been revised and corrected, though it ought to be."*

But a few months had passed after the publication, when a surreptitious edition appeared in Bennington, Vt. The first edition was not guarded by a copyright. On being

admired in the work. It is perceived, also, that a very great change has been made in the interpretation of such passages as are now reckoned as referring to the times of the destruction of Jerusalem; ranging from p. 167 to 168," &c. — See *Universalist Watchman*, April, 1849.

* See *Universalist Quarterly* for Oct. 1848. Vol. v. p. 375.

remonstrated with for the liberty he had taken, the printer of the surreptitious edition said, "Such a book is unlike other books,—it belongs to all the world,—no restriction ought to be put upon its publication or its sale."*

SECTION XXII.—REV. LEMUEL HAYNES.

In the month of June, 1805, Rev. Lemuel Haynes preached a sermon, aimed at Mr. Ballou, which has since been used very industriously, by the enemies of Universalism, to excite prejudices against that doctrine. From the importance which they have attached to that sermon, we propose to give some account of its author, to describe particularly the circumstances under which it was preached, and also to show the manner in which it was met by Mr. Ballou. Mr. Haynes was a colored man,—a fact not alluded to for his disadvantage. He was born in West Hartford, Conn., in 1753; was of unmingled African extraction on the side of his father, but his mother was a white woman of respectable ancestry in New England. His parents abandoned him in his early infancy;

* We have thus closed our description of the *Treatise on Atonement*. We repeat that the book had a vast influence. It was sought after, by many persons, with much eagerness. It is highly probable that it has been the means of bringing more persons to embrace Unitarian views of God, and right views of Atonement, than any other book that was ever published in America. It circulated among the masses, and exercised a very wide influence, before the present highly respectable sect of Christians called Unitarians were known in our land. It also had a very powerful effect in bringing many to the belief of the doctrine of universal grace. Its author is now laid low in the dust; but this work will continue to be read. "He, being dead, yet speaketh."

and he was carried at the age of five months to Granville, Mass., and bound out a servant to Deacon David Rose. The deacon was strictly a Calvinist, and sought to imbue the spirit of his young charge with the religion of Jesus Christ as he understood it. The lad was timid, fearful, especially in a thunder-storm. His thoughts of God always bordered on the terrific. He loved study; and, although the advantages which he had were very small, yet, by strict application, and by adopting as his motto that he would "know a little more every night than he did in the morning," he slowly increased his stock of knowledge. His serious impressions increased; he often had fearful apprehensions of going to hell; was greatly alarmed at the *aurora borealis*, which he regarded as a presage of the day of judgment. He finally supposed he had experienced religion, and united with the church in East Granville. Subsequently, his gifts and piety attracted the attention of neighboring clergymen, and he was advised to prepare for the ministry. He pursued his introductory studies with a clergyman in Connecticut, and afterwards studied Greek with another clergyman. In 1780 he was licensed to preach the gospel. The first five years of his ministry were spent in Middle Granville, where a new meeting-house had been built, and where he was invited to supply the pulpit. At the close of this term he was ordained, and shortly after went to Torrington, Conn., where he officiated for two years. Afterwards, namely, in 1788, he removed to West Rutland, Vt., having received a call to the pastoral office there. He pursued his vocation as a minister of the gospel here for a series of years. His instructions to the people of his charge

were strictly Calvinistic. They had obtained a small library, consisting principally of religious books, among which were certain recent English publications, and controversial works on theology, as Fuller's "Letters to Calvinists," "The Gospel its own Witness," "The Gospel a Faithful Saying," "The Backslider," &c. &c. It is probable there were other works somewhat of this nature. Such books as these were pleasing to him. He was remarkably fond of a sharp, pungent style, of apt illustration, and of stinging satire and repartee,—a style which he took some pains to cultivate.

SECTION XXIII.—MR. BALLOU IN HAYNES' PULPIT.

At the time named, June 1805, Mr. Ballou appeared in Rutland to deliver a discourse, at the request of several of the respectable inhabitants of that town. He took for his text 1 John 4: 10, 11,—"*Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins. Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.*" The leading object of his discourse was to describe, 1st, The great love of God towards his creatures, whom he had created in his own image, while they were in a state of sin and guilt. 2d, The manner in which this love had been manifested through the Lord Jesus Christ; and, 3d, The propriety, beauty and duty, of our loving one another, as a rational service arising from the manifestation of the love of God in Christ. These were the precise themes of the text. The sermon was distinguished for its kindness; nothing had been spoken directly against any

class of Christians, except so far as preaching the plain doctrine of the text could be so regarded. Mr. Haynes came at this time to hear Mr. Ballou, at the urgent request, it is said, of his people. They felt a desire, perhaps, for a display of his wit and satire in an attack on Mr. Ballou. When Mr. H. arrived at the meeting-house, he was introduced to Mr. B., and was at once invited to take a part in the exercises. This at first he declined, saying he came merely as a hearer. Mr. B. urged his acceptance of the invitation, as the services were to be holden in Mr. H.'s pulpit. At this Mr. H. said—knowing, perhaps, the preparation he had made—that he might be willing to make some remarks after the sermon was closed. Accordingly, after Mr. B. had finished his sermon, he turned politely to Mr. H. and said, "There is now an opportunity for remarks, if you are disposed to make any;" when Mr. H. arose and delivered his discourse.

SECTION XXIV.—MR. HAYNES' SERMON.

Mr. Haynes was much excited, and grew more so as he proceeded. One fact can fail to strike nobody, namely, that Mr. H.'s sermon was no reply whatever to the sermon of Mr. B. It was claimed by Mr. H.'s friends, "That the subject was chosen, and the plan and arrangement of the discourse formed, while he was listening to Mr. B." We think it far more probable that this attack on Universalism had been previously prepared, and that Mr. H. carried it to the church in his pocket. Not the slightest reference did he make to Mr. Ballou's discourse;

nor attempt to show that Mr. B. had misapplied his text, or drawn wrong inferences from it. The simple fact about Mr. H.'s sermon, which strikes the attention of every man who reads it, is, that it was an ebullition of ill-will to Universalists, and hatred to the doctrine which they preach. There was no calm reasoning in it; no attempt to show that the doctrine of endless misery is the doctrine of the Scriptures; no effort to prove that the passages used by Universalists to support the doctrine they believe are misapplied by them; but it was merely the aim to hold the doctrine up to ridicule as the devil's doctrine, and Mr. B. as the devil's agent. Truth was aimed at less than satire; religion less than wit; and a momentary revenge more than a public good. Mr. B., on his part, had treated Mr. H. with politeness; he had invited and urged him to take a part in the services; and, in the course of his sermon, had studiously avoided everything which could give him pain. Which of the two, then, acted most like the disciple of Jesus? and which showed the wisdom that is from beneath, described as carnal, sensual, devilish? Mr. H. was not the author of the leading idea of his discourse, namely, that the devil was the first preacher of Universalism. This had been maintained by Dr. Ryland, of England; and it is probable that, among the English controversial books which we have said had found their way into the library at Rutland, where Mr. H. resided, he had seen some references to Dr. Ryland's discourse, if not the discourse itself. It was entitled, "The First Lie refuted; or, the Grand Delusion exposed; a Sermon preached at the Rev. Dr. Rippon's meeting-house, by John Ryland, D.D., June

15, 1800," which was five years before Mr. H. broached the same idea. The two sermons both had the same text, and the same object,—they were both philippics against Universalism. As Dr. Ryland's had been noticed in several of the English reviews, we have but little doubt that Mr. H. got the first idea of his discourse from that source.

SECTION XXV.—MR. BALLOU REPLIES.

Mr. Ballou had no desire to pursue Mr. H. He made no reply upon the spot. He felt that his antagonist had done what he would be sorry for in moments of calm reflection. It was an *unprovoked* attack, and had not been rendered necessary by anything which had been said upon the occasion. Charity led Mr. B. to pass it over, as a hasty matter, which did his opponent no honor as a Christian, and which, if he did not persist in it, should not be mentioned to his discredit. But Mr. B. was soon disappointed, for, to his surprise, in about six months afterward he saw the sermon in print! In his preface Mr. H. expressed a doubt "whether, on the whole, the publication was for the interest of truth;" but he seems to have yielded his own judgment to that of those by whom he had "been urged to let the same appear in print." The publication appeared about the beginning of 1806, when Mr. Ballou at once addressed an epistle to Mr. Haynes, through the medium of the press. As this epistle is important, and not of great length, it is here subjoined.

"*Barnard, April 22, 1806.*

"REV. SIR: The design of this epistle is to inform you and the public how I viewed your conduct at the time you delivered the

sermon, to which I now reply ; and what I think concerning said sermon, and its general complexion. As to your conduct when I was with you, in your desk, I must say (as many of your own parish and others have said) it was the most unchristian-like behavior I ever saw in one who professed to preach Christ and his salvation.

“ The sermon which I delivered at that time, in your hearing, was uniformly like its subject, which is *love* ; see 1 John, 4 : 10, 11. The main doctrine contended for was the great love wherewith God loved us, while we were aliens from him by wicked works ; the exhibition of that love through Christ, and the propriety of our loving one another, as a rational duty arising from the manifestation of God’s love to us. In this sermon, sir, you heard nothing spoken against any name, or denomination of professors. You, your parishioners, and gentlemen from other towns, who were present, must bear me record, that I treated my subject fairly, and my hearers with respect. Think, then, how great was my astonishment, and the confusion of the people, on hearing the discourse which you delivered at the close of mine.— a discourse fraught with low cunning and spirited satire, and delivered with an aspect perfectly suited to the subject. It was so extraordinary for its indecency, I greatly marvelled that there was a single individual in the world, who professed the religion of the meek and lowly Saviour, that could be guilty of such an infringement on the principles of the *Christian* and the *gentleman*.

“ Your discourse, sir, has since fallen into my hands, through the medium of the press ; which is a second astonishment to me, as well as to others who first heard it. Why you should be willing to appear in print, as you do and must appear to every candid mind, who reads your sermon, is more than I can account for.

“ It sometimes happens, among men, that those of respectability, who, generally speaking, walk uprightly, as men ought to walk, may, on some certain occasion, render themselves indecorous, by speaking unadvisedly with their lips. But it is a rare instance indeed, and one which we might hope never would happen, for a

good man deliberately to persist in such glaring abuse as appears in the sermon alluded to.

“ You say, at the close of your discourse, that, as you have confined yourself wholly to the character of Satan, you trust no one will feel personally injured, &c. You may depend, sir, that I do not view the *injury* as done to myself, though every person of discernment must see that your design was personal. The injury done by your sermon is of that nature which ought to cause all good men serious reflection. For a man who has received public and solemn ordination to the pastoral care and charge of a parish, — who ought to be a pattern of piety and good works, a pattern of meekness and charity, who ought to be tender-hearted and pitiful; having compassion on those whom he views to be ignorant and out of the way, — to treat another who professes to believe in and worship the same God, hopes for salvation by the same Saviour, who has received the above-mentioned solemn injunctions to feed the sheep and lambs of Christ, and who, through grace, has been enabled to support a moral character to the acceptance of his numerous friends, with that *unfriendly, injudicious and unchristian-like communication*, ought to wound the feelings of all the friends of truth. The injury, sir, is done to that cause of which you and I, and every other professor of religion, ought always to be careful. But, as for myself, it is a small thing for me to be judged by men, or of men’s judgment. — I will now begin my reply.

“ On your *title-page*, you say, *Universal Salvation* is a very ancient doctrine, — to which I am agreed; believing it to be as much older than any other doctrine which opposes it, as truth is older than the inventions and traditions of men; but you have made a very capital mistake, in describing the character of its author; however, it is the same mistake which has been made by many since the Christian apostasy, which is, really mistaking the character of the devil for that of the Almighty. This I will make appear, by an easy argument. ✓

“ The true character of God is that of universal goodness, and that of the devil is evil in all its operations. Now, sir, if *universal salvation* from all *sin and misery* be a natural production

of an *evil principle*, the natural production of a *contrary principle* would be *universal damnation in sin and misery*. But, if salvation from sin be the work of God, it ought not to be ascribed to the devil because it is done universally. It would seem that ideas of *limited goodness*, applied to the Deity, might possibly be borne with by the enemies of Universalism; but, if a doctrine of *universal goodness* be exhibited, *the devil of course must be its author!* Nothing can be plainer than the mistake which divines have made in this matter.

“ Agreeably to the above mistake, you go on and take your text from the words of the devil; and, though I shall be able to prove your discourse inconsistent with itself, yet I do not think that harms it any as to its agreement with the spirit of him who first spoke the words from which you preached.

“ I ought not to pass over your preface, without observing two particulars :

“ 1st. You say, ‘ There is no greater folly than for a man to express *anger* and *resentment* because his religious sentiments are attacked.’ Did you mean this as an acknowledgment for the *anger* and *resentment* which you manifested on the occasion which you embraced to discover to me, and others, your deadly hatred of Universalism? If this be your meaning, you ought not to be excused for the neglect of particular application; if this be not your meaning, you are more unpardonable still.

“ 2d. You say you had been repeatedly solicited to hear and dispute with me, and had been charged with *dishonesty* and *cowardice* for refusing. Did you do right, sir, not to inform your readers who it was that thus *solicited*, and charged you with *dishonesty*? Did you mean to intimate that I had done these indecent things? You know you have no reason to believe I ever saw you until the day you gave me all the knowledge of yourself which I have ever obtained personally. If it were some of your own parish who thus charged you with *dishonesty*, it must have been some one who knew your *want of rectitude*, or by whom you certainly ought not to have consented to be influenced. If your parish all have such implicit confidence in you that they would prefer scandal to themselves, rather than render you accountable

for your random shots of slander, you may possibly still go on with impunity.

"In these remarks, my language is full severe; however, I hope the reader will consider it within the bounds of faithful rebuke.

"There *happened* to be a *little sentiment* in your sermon, and *that little* on a subject in which, I think, I have reason to believe the clergy are generally in the wrong. This sentiment was one principal reason of my making this reply, as I have wanted to find an antagonist on that point.

"You say, on page 11th, 'The death contained in the threatening was, doubtless, *eternal death*.' Will you contend that man died an *eternal death in the day of transgression*? If he did, he certainly has not been alive since; no, nor will he ever be again. If you say he did not die an *eternal death in the day of transgression*, you make out that what the serpent said to the woman was true.

"On page 10th, you say, 'This audacious wretch had the impudence to confront Omnipotence, and say, Ye shall not surely die.' And why did you not add, that, notwithstanding his impudence, he was in the right according to orthodox divinity, and then quoted your authors?

"Can any mortal be so blind as not to see that, if the Almighty threatened man with an *eternal death* in the day of his transgression, and a serpent told him that would not be the case, and man sinned in violation of the prohibition, and still lived afterwards, the serpent was in the right, and the Creator in the wrong? How can you call the serpent an audacious wretch for speaking the truth? It surprises me that a person, who professes to love God and hate the serpent, should take the pains that you do to prove the serpent's word is more to be depended on than the Almighty's.

"I do not know but your readers, in general, may be confounded with the profundity of your argument on *eternal death*, and the serpent's intention in his preaching; truly there is something very curious in it. You go on, page 11, from the assertion that *eternal death* was meant in the threatening, and argue, saying, 'as *nothing* but this would express God's feelings towards sin, or render an *infinite* atonement necessary.' In order for you to be

duly prepared to make these assertions, you ought at least to possess a complete knowledge of the whole nature of sin, cause and consequences, and all the *feelings* (as your term is) of God towards it, and also the fulness of his wisdom and knowledge, or you could not, with any propriety, have limited the *Holy One of Israel* to that *one single point*. You speak of an infinite atonement. Wherever an atonement is necessary, it is to satisfy the dissatisfied; and an infinite dissatisfaction must exist, in order to require an infinite atonement. To say that any being in the universe ever was *infinitely dissatisfied*, and then to talk of the mode of satisfying such a being, would, in my opinion, betray great inconsistency, and a large share of ignorance, or something worse.

“You argue further, on the same subject, saying, ‘To suppose it to be *spiritual death*, is to blend *crime* and *punishment* together.’ This observation, it seems, you thought was sufficient argument to prove that the *death* intended was not a *spiritual death*. But, before there can be any force in your reasoning, it must be made to appear that the death, which, according to the word of God, man actually died in the day of transgression, was the ministration of a *penal law*. If both scripture and reason fail you on this point, not only your argument, in this particular, will appear groundless, but many other ideas, being connected with the error, must inevitably fail. You must see to this, unless you think your readers are willing to take your word.

“You further say, ‘To suppose *temporal death* to be the *curse* of the law, then believers are not delivered from it according to Gal. 3: 13.’ Here your argument goes to prove that there is such a thing as being *delivered* from the death which man was to die in the day of transgression. If you mean that this deliverance may be so affected that those delivered never taste of that death, all the force of your argument is to prove the *possibility* of what the serpent said being true. If you mean to argue the possibility of a deliverance from that death, after man had partaken of it by a resurrection, you deny the absolute *eternity* of the *death*. Go which way you will, sir, you are snared and taken in your own craftiness.

“You further say, ‘What Satan *meant* to preach was, that there

is no hell, and that the wages of sin is not death, but eternal life.' Here I must say, you are possessed of the most retentive memory of any person I ever heard of, or else you are the most extraordinary conjurer the earth has ever produced. Either you must have existed, in some sort of an animal, in the days of Adam, and have been conversant with the serpent, who, perhaps in confidence, told you his whole plan and meaning, and, by the laws of transmigration, you have come to be what you now are, and retain all those things still in perfect memory, or you must have made the discovery by conjuring.

"Perhaps you may say I do not treat this subject with that Christian candor which I contend for. To which I answer, I know of no way to show you and others the glaring absurdities contained in your sermon, without making its author appear to disadvantage.

"When a professed minister of the gospel undertakes to tell what a serpent *meant*, who talked almost six thousand years ago, in order to make a certain doctrine appear ridiculous, against which he is unable to bring any scripture evidence, he ought not to complain if he sees his own ridicule justly falling on his own head.

"Did you, sir, ever meet with the idea, in any of the Universalian authors, that the *wages of sin is eternal life*? If you never did, do you believe that you ought to be looked upon as an honest man, when you endeavor to represent such an idea? Do you expect to be treated with that respect to which the gentleman is entitled, while you studiously represent the *Devil* as the *Universal preacher*, in order to stigmatize those with whom you dare not contend on fair and open ground? Will your low cunning support you long in the estimation of enlightened people? Have you not already practised this mischief of misrepresentation to your damage in your own parish? How far abroad do you wish to have yourself known to be a person who can so easily descend to unjust measures to carry a bad design into effect?

"Sir, I profess to believe and preach Universal Salvation from all sin and moral death; and I glory in the belief and labor, notwithstanding all you and the rest of the enemies of the doctrine have said, or can say. But I do not believe that the *wages of sin* is

eternal life; I thank God that his gift, through Jesus Christ our Lord, is even to *those to whom sin has proved death*; to which truth all God's holy prophets have borne testimony. Jesus preached the same doctrine. The apostles were faithful in its propagation, and all real Christians and good men, in all ages, have fervently prayed for its accomplishment. All this I am ready to prove, and I pledge myself to do it whenever I may be called on to that effect by a regular antagonist. I have already published a *treatise on atonement*, in which I have inserted many arguments in favor of *universal holiness and happiness*, which I believe are unanswerable; however, should any one attack that work and prove my arguments erroneous, I will disavow them to the public.

"On page 9th, you speak of the devil as not being confined to parish, state, or continent, &c. By this, I suppose, you mean to stigmatize those who, faithful to their Master's command, — 'Go ye, therefore, into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature,' — comply with the same, to the utmost of their abilities. Ah, sir, do you consider how far your satire extends? Will you represent all those who enter your parish to preach Christ and him crucified to be the servants of the devil? Go on, then, and meet the certain consequences.

"Although I believe in the final salvation of all men, yet I as fully believe that all unrighteousness of men will receive a due recompense of reward. And, should you persist in your present line of conduct a little longer, I do not think you will believe the consequences of sin to be altogether in another world.

"On page 13th, inference 3d, you say, 'See a reason why it ought to be rejected, because it is an *ancient devilish doctrine*.' You will not contend that Universalism ought to be rejected merely because it is an ancient doctrine? It is true God preached it when he promised that the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head; he preached it by the bow in the cloud, to Noah; he preached it by promise to Abraham, saying, 'In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed;' he preached it to Isaac and Jacob, by confirming the same promise to them; he preached it by the law and figurative priesthood given to Israel by Moses; he preached it by the mouth of all his holy prophets,

who testified of the restitution of all things, through the glorious mediation of the promised Shiloh. But, because it was preached so long ago, do you think it ought to be rejected?

"You say it is a *devilish doctrine*! Harsh, inconsiderate expression! Is that doctrine which argues the destruction of the devil and his works a *devilish doctrine*? Is the doctrine which argues *universal reconciliation* through Christ a *devilish doctrine*? O, may God forgive you this folly, and lay not this sin to your charge!

"Must I believe you ignorant of the testimony of scripture in support of the two points above hinted? Then read Heb. 2: 24, — 'Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same, that through death he might *destroy* him that had the power of death, that is, the *devil*.' Also, 1 John 3: 8, — 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might *destroy* the *works* of the *devil*.' By these quotations, it is plain that the object of Christ, in his mission, was to destroy the *devil* and his *works*. See also Eph. 1: 10, — 'That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one *all things in Christ*, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him.' Also Col. 1: 20, — 'And (having made peace by the blood of his cross) by him to reconcile *all* things unto himself; by him, I say, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven.' These, and a multitude of scriptures more, read plainly to prove *that true* which you are pleased to call a devilish doctrine.

"Page 14, inference 7th, you say, 'It is probable that the doctrine of universal salvation will still prevail,' &c. To which I reply, 'If this council, or this work, be of man, it will come to naught; but, if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it.'

"A few observations on that *obscene poem*, which you had the indecency not only to read in public, at the close of your sermon, but also to insert in your pamphlet, will not be deemed improper. The burden of this poem is to convey an idea that Universalists suppose all manner of vile characters will be received to the enjoyment of everlasting happiness, without being cleansed from moral defilement. I will not pretend to say that such charac-

ters as yourself may not have caused some very uninformed persons to believe that Universalists held to such absurdities; but I do not believe you have that idea yourself; and why you should wish to deceive, you must be accountable.

“When Jesus said to the thief on the cross ‘This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise,’ must we rationally infer that Jesus meant that there should be a *thief* with him hereafter in heaven? Yes, with as much propriety as you have indicated all you have by that poem.

“I close with a word of advice.

“Rev. Sir, if you view me an enemy to mankind in general, and to yourself in particular, yet good advice can do you no harm; but, providing you profit by it, and practise accordingly, it will be just as good from me as from any other person in the world. However, I can say, in the fear of God, that I am not an enemy to you, or to any other person. I sincerely wish all men holiness of heart, and happiness in the same; and I can truly say, also, did I believe that at last you would not find favor in the Lord, my soul would be filled with inexpressible sorrow! I not only wish you happiness in the world to come, but I wish you may enjoy it here; and so conduct as to live in good agreement with the people of your charge, and in good repute among your acquaintance. Agreeably to this desire, sir, I give you the following advice:

✓ { “Cast off all your prejudice towards those denominations who differ from you in sentiment or opinion; treat them all as you are willing to be treated by them; never be so cruel as to misrepresent their tenets, in order to cause people to dislike them: be honest with all men: use no underhanded means to prosecute your designs; let all your conduct stand in the fair and open sunshine of *truth*. When your conscience dictates to defend your sentiments, be *cautious* that you contend fairly and honorably, and treat your antagonist as a brother, and not with disrespect. Study humility, and by example teach it to others. Search the Scriptures impartially, never endeavoring to cause them to bend to this or that system of divinity; rather yield your tenets to the word of God, than endeavor to cause that

immutable word, which cannot be broken, to bend to your peculiarities of sentiment. ✓

"If you see cause to enter further into a correspondence with me, and answer this epistle, do be so good as to give me no occasion to use such severity as has been necessary in this; which if you are careful to observe, I will treat the subject of controversy with all the candor of which I am master; and, in every instance, will be, sir, your humble servant, for Christ's sake,

"HOSEA BALLOU.

"REV. LEMUEL HAYNES."

Mr. Ballou's letter had laid before the public unanswered for more than a year, when Mr. Haynes appeared again, in a "Letter to Rev. Hosea Ballou, being a Reply to his Epistle to the Author; or, his attempt to vindicate the old Universal Preacher. By Lemuel Haynes, pastor of a church in Rutland, Vt. (1807)." Previously to the appearance of this pamphlet, Mr. Ballou had invited Mr. H. to meet him in a public debate,—a proposition which Mr. H. declined. In the published letter, Mr. H. intimated that he should soon come out with a review of the Treatise on Atonement. "You say you have published a Treatise on Atonement. * * * I have read the piece, and, by the leave of Providence, perhaps you and the public will know my mind more fully about it before long." Mr. Ballou delayed his reply to Mr. Haynes' epistle until the review of the Treatise on Atonement should appear; but, as that review *never* came, here ended the controversy. The doctrines of Mr. Ballou continued to increase in Rutland, and in all that section of Vermont.* } ✓

* The account of Mr. Haynes has been drawn from the following work: "Sketches of the Life and Character of Rev. Lemuel Haynes,

SECTION XXVI.—CONVENTION OF 1805.

The General Convention for 1805 met at Westmoreland, N. H., where Mr. Ballou was present, for he made it his invariable custom to attend this annual gathering of the brethren. The patriarch Zebulon Streeter was chosen Moderator, and Mr. Ballou clerk. The latter was appointed also to communicate by epistle to the Universalist societies in Otsego, Chenango, and Oneida counties, New York, the vote of the Convention organizing said societies into an association entitled the "Western Association," in fellowship with the Convention. The "Eastern Association" had been formed in the District of Maine, in 1799. Mr. B. was honored with several other appointments at this session. He was selected as one of a committee to visit the Western Association at its next annual meeting, at Otsego, in June following; also a member of a committee to attend the meeting of the Northern Association, at Randolph, Vt., in October, 1805; also a member of a committee for bringing out a hymn-book for the use of the Universalist societies. He preached on both days of the session,—namely, on Wednesday from Isaiah 12: 2, "Behold God is my salvation; I will trust and not be afraid;" and on the second day, at the ordination of his brethren Persons and Stacy, from the words of the Lord Jesus, Mark 16: 15, 16,

A.M., for many years pastor of a church in Rutland, Vt., and late in Granville, N. Y. By Timothy Mather Cooley, D.D., pastor of the First Church in Granville, Mass.; with some introductory remarks by William B. Sprague, D.D., pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Albany. New York. Harper and Brothers. 1837."

—“And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.” Thus prominent and useful had he become in the estimation of his fathers and brethren in the belief of the world’s salvation.*

SECTION XXVII.—ORDINATION OF REV. A. KNEELAND.

The ordination of a Universalist clergyman in those days, especially as a settled pastor, was an unusual event, and, in the neighborhood in which it was to take place, a great event. Such was the ordination of Rev. Abner Kneeland (who afterwards fell away from the gospel), which took place at Langdon, N. H., on the 30th of October, 1805. He had presented himself as a candidate

* Mr. Stacy says, in his Memoir: “The Convention met this year in Westmoreland, N. H. On my way thither I passed through Wilmington, Vt., called on my old friend Mr. Foster, and held a meeting with the few brethren on Sunday; and Mr. F. accompanied me to the Convention. As we rode up to the place of appointment, with my heart and my eyes full, the first person I saw, before I had dismounted from my horse, was the venerable father in Israel, Zebulon Streeter, who exclaimed, with a smile, ‘There comes my boy!’ I leaped from my horse, and O, with what heart-felt joy and satisfaction did I grasp the extended hand of this aged saint! It was the last time I ever met him, and since that time I have never been able to attend but four sessions of that Convention. Previously, my joy was so full in anticipation of meeting my beloved brethren again, in whose hearts I could well believe reigned triumphantly the spirit of Christian love, and the soothing influences of whose sympathy I could so fully realize, after having alone, and at *so great* a distance [the neighborhood of Utica was then the far West. — T. W.], for a whole season experienced the unmerciful buffetings of the storms and tempests of sectarian wrath, that the approaching meetings caused me to weep for joy.”—p. 146.

for the ministry at the Convention in 1803, and had been ordained as a minister at large in 1804. He was soon invited to settle as pastor at Langdon, and was ordained to the care of the society in that town on the day above named. Mr. Ballou preached upon the occasion. To the Ordaining Council, very unusually, several of the neighboring Congregational clergy were invited, namely, Rev. Messrs. Fessenden, and his colleague, Rev. P. Dickinson, of Walpole, N. H., Rev. Daniel Foster, of Charlestown, N. H., Rev. Perley Howe, of Surrey, N. H., and some others who did not attend. When the Council was called to order on the previous evening, *four* Congregationalists, and only *three* Universalists, were found to be present. The Universalists were Rev. E. Paine, of Washington, N. H., Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Barnard, Vt., and Rev. Joshua Flagg, of New Salem, Mass. The Congregationalists thought it not agreeable to usage to assist in the ordination of a clergyman on the basis of the covenant of the church at Langdon; and they, therefore, with great good temper, declined to sit as members, and the Universalists formed the council, making the venerable Z. Streeter, who had just then arrived, Moderator. The order of exercises was arranged as follows: Introductory Prayer, Rev. Paul Dean; Sermon, Rev. Hosea Ballou; the Ordaining and Concluding Prayers, by Rev. Zebulon Streeter; the Charge, by Rev. Ebenezer Paine, and the Fellowship, by Rev. Hosea Ballou. On the adjournment of the Council, in the evening, Rev. Daniel Foster offered prayer.

Mr. Ballou preached from John 21: 17,—“Feed my sheep.” He attempted first to show who are the sheep

of Christ, and by what principle of right they are his; and, second, what these sheep ought to be fed with, where the food is to be found, and how it is to be administered.*

SECTION XXVIII.—CONVENTION OF 1806.

The Convention for 1806 was holden at Hoosick Falls, N. Y., and this was the first time it ever met in that state. The delegates convened at the house of Br. Eliam Buel, an honored name in that region. The venerable Zebulon Streeter was again elected Moderator, and Hosea Ballou clerk. During the year that had passed, Rev. Walter Ferris, of whom we have before spoken, had died, among his friends, in the vicinity of Burlington, Vt. The Convention took a very respectful notice of his death, and voted a letter of condolence to his widow. This sad event very sensibly affected Mr. Ballou. He had entertained the highest esteem for Mr. Ferris,—yea, he had loved him. There was something very amiable in the man,—tender and affectionate in his disposition; his judgment well matured, his heart pure, his eye single to the good of the cause,—a peace-maker,—all these things had endeared him greatly to Mr. Ballou, who, as long as he lived, ceased not to speak of him as of one who had occupied a large share in his affections. Mr. B. was again appointed a member of a committee to visit the Western Association; also of another committee to

* See "A Sermon delivered at Langdon, N. H., on the 30th of October, 1805, at the ordination of Rev. Abner Kneeland to the pastoral care and charge of the Universalist church and society in said town. By Hosea Ballou, of Barnard, Vt. Randolph. Printed by Sereno Wright. 1806."

visit the Northern Association; also of a committee for the purpose of preparing a hymn-book for the use of the Universalist societies. He preached at this session from the words, Rev. 11: 11,—“And after three days and a half the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them.” The preacher probably connected this verse with others in the Apocalypse. If a day be understood for a year, as is sometimes the case in prophetic style, three days and a half would become three years and a half, or forty and two months. This was the time that the holy city was to be trodden under foot of the Gentiles.—Rev. 11: 2. It was also the time that the reign of the beast was to continue.—13: 5. Men were to be punished for worshipping the beast, where the beast existed, during the time of his continuance, and during the interchange of day and night. “They *have* no rest, *day* nor *night*, who worship the beast and his image.” Mr. Ballou maintained there is no authority for supposing that the worshippers of the beast—(Rev. 14: 9—11)—were tormented any longer than they worshipped him, or that they were thus tormented before they worshipped him. The beast was to continue forty and two months. Now, if we multiply forty-two by thirty (the number of days which the Jews allowed to a month), the amount is twelve hundred and sixty days. This was precisely the same time the two witnesses were to prophesy in sackcloth.—11: 3. “And I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesy one thousand two hundred and three-score days, clothed in sackcloth.” One thousand two hundred and three-

score are twelve hundred and sixty. All of these events probably were brought into the illustration of Mr. Ballou's text. After the three days and a half, or three years and a half, or forty and two months, or one thousand two hundred and threescore days [1260], or time, times, and half a time,—after this era of the reign of the beast had passed by, then the spirit of life from God entered into the Christian witnesses, and they stood upon their feet, and great fear fell upon those who saw them.

SECTION XXIX.—OFFICIAL VISIT TO NEW YORK.

While Mr. Ballou was preaching in different parts of the State of Vermont, and sometimes in the neighboring states, it was his fervent desire to administer fully to the spiritual wants of the people of his charge. Being so frequently away from home, he could not be present on every Sabbath day; but the societies to which he labored flourished under his ministry, especially the society in Barnard, the place in which he lived. Among the evidences of this prosperity, we may mention the building of a new meeting-house for Mr. Ballou. This was done perhaps to secure his services for a larger share of the time in that town; and, after the opening of the new house, he spent a larger proportion of the Sabbaths there.

Let us look back and mention, in this place, the journey of Mr. Ballou, in the summer of 1806, to attend the first session of the proposed Association of Universalists in the State of New York; for, as we have stated, he had been appointed a member of a committee for that purpose. The meeting was holden in the month of June, in the

town of Columbus, Chenango county. He journeyed to the place in company with a young man by the name of Paul Dean, afterwards somewhat celebrated in the Universalist ministry. Rev. William Farewell and Rev. Joshua Flagg also attended from New England. The few Universalists of central New York, then almost the western boundary of the settlements in that state, made great exertions to bring the people together to hear the gospel on that occasion. There was no meeting-house where they met, belonging to any denomination. The place was chosen because it was central to the few Universalists scattered abroad in that region. The meeting was holden in a large hall, in a public house; or, rather, it was attempted to be holden there; but, the people becoming so numerous that scarcely a tithe of them could get into the hall, it became necessary to remove to a neighboring forest, where Mr. Ballou preached two sermons with great power. Mr. Flagg and Mr. Dean also preached. This meeting was by far the most important of any that had ever been holden in the interior of that state.* After the close of the Association, Mr. Ballou

* Mr. Stacy has given the fullest account of this meeting which has ever appeared, or probably ever will appear. We subjoin it in this note :

"As the season approached that would call our ministering brethren from the east to preach with us, and counsel and assist us in organizing an Association, my heart beat high in anticipation of peculiar felicity. I could hardly wait its arrival. All preparations in our power were made for the coming event, to render it as satisfactory as possible to the visiting committee, and profitable to the glorious cause, by securing as large a congregation as we could induce to attend. Delegates from three societies (for only three yet existed, within the limits of my knowledge, in the State of New York) were appointed. Information of the meeting was widely extended through all the country, with earnest invitations, both to friends

did not hurry immediately home. He went first to Brookfield, a town in the south-east angle of Madison

and opposers, to attend, and as ample provision was made for their entertainment as circumstances would admit. Here let it be remembered that, although Brookfield, Sangerfield and Madison, have been named as stations for preaching, yet they were all included in the Hamilton society, whose appellation, in its organization, was 'The Universalist Society of Hamilton and Vicinity.' The place for the meeting was appointed in Columbus, Chenango county; not because more Universalists, or friends to the cause, were there, or even as many as in other places; but because it was the most central location we could obtain, where we could find any accommodation. No Universalist society was at that time thought of there; but Mr. Wooley had preached there a few times, and there were a few families in the immediate vicinity who were ready to do all they could for the accommodation of those who should assemble; and whose liberality was generous and ample. The country was new and thinly settled at that time, and no meeting-house had been erected in that region by any denomination. But two brothers, by the name of Lamb (the youngest of whom is now a judge, and still occupies the same house), had just built a house designed for a tavern, with a pretty extensive ball-room, which they generously offered and we gratefully accepted, as the most eligible place that could be found. And here we assembled, on the 6th day of June, 1806, and were met by the delegation from the General Convention. Mr. Ballou, Mr. Farewell, and Mr. Flagg, and a young man by the name of Paul Dean, who had commenced preaching something like a year before, and had received a letter of fellowship from the General Convention at its session in September previous, accompanied Mr. Ballou from Barnard, Vermont. And here was organized the first Association of Universalists in the state, which then and there received the appellation of 'The Western Association of Universalists in the State of New York;' and this was the third organization of the kind effected in America. Four discourses were delivered on the occasion, — one by Mr. Flagg, one by Mr. Dean, and two by Mr. Ballou. A numerous congregation, for the time and place, were in attendance; and in the afternoon of the first day, and both parts of the second, we were compelled to repair to the adjacent forest for our religious exercises, the chamber not being sufficiently capacious to hold a tenth part of the congregation. The weather was fine for the season, and we found ourselves comfortably accommodated, with the verdant and waving foliage of a dense forest to screen us from the scorching rays of a summer sun, and the trunks and fragments of fallen trees, mostly, for our seats; and here we listened

county, where N. Stacy then resided — (Memoirs, pp. 161—173),—and here he preached the gospel to listening crowds. Thence he went to New Hartford and Utica, and preached in both of those places, and then returned to his residence at Barnard. Probably he never had done so much, in the same number of days, for the extension of the doctrine of universal grace, as he did during this visit. He ever looked back upon it with satisfaction.

Having thus accomplished his object in visiting the State of New York, he hurried back, that he might be present at a festival holden by the Masonic Fraternity, on the 24th of the month (June), at Chester, Vt. Here he delivered a sermon, entitled "A Festival Sermon," from the words Heb. 13 : 1, "Let brotherly love continue." This sermon was published; and, some few years afterwards, the Rev. Abner Kneeland preached it, in substance, as his farewell sermons to the people of his charge, at Langdon. He published these sermons, but he had the honor to acknowledge how deeply he was indebted to Mr. Ballou.*

SECTION XXX.—VISIT TO NEW YORK IN 1807.

Without the introduction of any other matter, to break the continuity of the subject, we will proceed to describe

with intense interest and fervent gratification to the preaching, which, it appeared to me, was almost sufficiently piercing to penetrate the dark vault of the tomb, and powerful enough to raise the dead to life. Heaven's richest spiritual blessings were bestowed with a liberal hand."— pp. 168, 169.

* Mr. B.'s sermon was published in 1807, entitled "A Festival Sermon, by Brother Hosea Ballou, delivered at Chester, Vt. A. L. 6806. Randolph, Vt. Sereno Wright, printer. 1807."

the meeting of the Western Association for the year 1807, at New Hartford, Oneida county, the place at which, a few years later, was built the first meeting-house ever erected by Universalists in the interior of New York. We have shown that Mr. Ballou had been appointed by the General Convention, in session at Hoo-sick Falls, N. Y., in September, 1806, to visit the Western Association in the following June. Accordingly, at the proper time, he set out upon his journey, which he had arranged in such a manner as to permit him to preach, both going and returning, at those places at which he thought he could do the most good. The meeting at New Hartford was fully equal, both in respect to the numbers in attendance, and to the power and effect of the public services, to the meeting of the preceding year. The late Rev. S. R. Smith has described the early meetings of the "Western Association" in the following terms :

"It is difficult, since the multiplication of similar ecclesiastical bodies, to appreciate the feelings with which the meetings of this Association were anticipated. Individuals at the distance of a hundred or a hundred and fifty miles from the place of meeting made their calculations and commenced their arrangements some time in advance of the session. And, when the time came, old and young congregated for the renewal of friendships, to exchange salutations, and, above all other things, to enjoy a season of rational and high devotion. All became excited ; and there was a power and a pathos in the public discourses, that kindled and augmented the zeal of the congregations ; and all felt that it was, indeed, 'none other than the house of God and the gate of heaven.' The best talents in the denomination were called out and put in requisition, and the time and circumstances were

every way calculated to make an impression*which would be felt for months to come, in every department of the order." *

We are thus particular in describing the meetings of this Association, because Mr. Ballou took so prominent a part in them, travelled so great a distance to reach them, filled so large a place in the expectations of the people who attended them, and administered so fully to their edification and enjoyment. They were, also, seasons of great hope and gratification to *him*; and, in fact, seemed to denote, at one time, that they might cause his removal from Vermont to central New York. It was, we think, at this visit, that a very interesting event took place, described felicitously by Mr. Smith, in the work already quoted from, which was remarkable, not only for the glory of the occasion, but, also, as being the first time that Stephen R. Smith, afterwards a distinguished advocate of Universalism, ever heard that doctrine proclaimed. No man shared more largely and generally the affections of the Universalists of the State of New York than Rev. Stephen R. Smith. He was the first to penetrate the most western sections of that state. He was the first to proclaim Universalism in Buffalo,—now a city of about fifty thousand inhabitants, in the midst of whom is his grave,—then (June, 1816) a village, just rising from its ashes, two years and a half only having elapsed from the time it was entirely burned by a detachment of British troops from Canada. A meeting at which Stephen R. Smith heard the doctrine, for the first time, to the promulgation of which he after-

* Historical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 69, 70.

wards devoted his life, is worthy of notice here; and the account shall be given in his own language:

“It was during one of these annual visitations that the writer of these pages heard, for the first time, the message of universal grace. By what means the intelligence that Mr. Hosea Ballou would preach on the following Sunday, in a place some fifteen miles distant, could have been conveyed to a very young man, who did not then know a single Universalist in the world, is not remembered. He went, however, and heard a discourse in the morning, from Zech. 6: 13, and, for the first time in his life, felt that he had listened to a sermon that neither involved an absurdity nor a contradiction. The congregation was not large, and occupied a school-house in the present city of Utica,—then a meagre and muddy village. A larger congregation was anticipated in the afternoon, and arrangements were made for the service in the open air, under some trees, on the bank of the Mohawk river. There, in due time, a large auditory assembled, and listened to one of Mr. Ballou’s best discourses, from Deut. 33: part of 16th with the 17th verse. It was a glorious day, early in June,—the silence of Sunday was around us,—the bright blue heavens above us, partly veiled by the branches of a few scattering oaks,—the clear, quiet river at our side,—the ruddy and healthy preacher in all the vigor of manhood before us, and pleading the cause of God and humanity with a group of most attentive hearers. Such a scene is not to be forgotten; and, altogether, it was one in every respect calculated to make the most favorable, as well as lasting impressions. And such, certainly, were its effects on the mind of the writer. For while it left him without any pretension to the knowledge or belief of Universalism, as a system of religious truth, it entirely satisfied him that it was consistent with itself, and with all that we see and know of the Deity and his moral government. It is scarcely to be doubted that similar impressions were made on many persons in that congregation.” *

* *Historical Sketches*, vol. i. pp. 20—22.

It is not difficult to know the subjects of the two sermons here referred to. Of the first we once had a description from the lips of the venerated preacher himself. The branch mentioned in Zech. 6: 12, 13 was one of the Old Testament metaphors for the Messiah. He was pointed to, by the prophet, as one who should build up, in due time, the spiritual temple or house of the Lord; and he was to bear the glory, and sit and rule upon his throne. But he was not merely to be a ruler; he was also to be a priest. "He shall be a priest upon his throne: and *the counsel of peace shall be between them both.*" The last words furnished one of the most fruitful and profitable topics of the occasion. Jesus was both a king and a priest; and between these two offices there should always remain the counsel of peace. As a ruler, his law demanded nothing contrary to what as a priest he sought to gain. He gave himself a ransom for all; he made an offering for the sins of the whole world; when he was lifted up from the cross, it was that he might draw all men unto him. While Christ, then, as the high priest of our profession, offered a sacrifice for *all*, and sought the salvation of all, in his character as king he had no law and no counsel at war with this, for *the counsel of peace was between them both.* In that day, when the false dogmas of Calvinism had more power over the minds of the people than they now have, such a sermon would have great effect. It gave an opportunity to Mr. Ballou to bring out his views largely on the subject of the atonement. His afternoon sermon, on the occasion described by Mr. Smith, was founded on the following words: "Let the blessing come upon the head

of Joseph, and upon the top of the head of him that was separated from his brethren. His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth; and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh." The subject of the sermon was "the story of Joseph, as an illustration of the history of Christ's kingdom." In the first place, Mr. Ballou described, with a power peculiarly his own, the character of Joseph, his treatment by his brethren, and the plan of God as manifested at last in the salvation of the whole of his father's family. God's wisdom is seen shining through the whole; he causes the wrath of man to praise him, and he will permit no wrath to exist which he cannot overrule for such a purpose. His glory was like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns were like the horns of unicorns. The unicorn was supposed to have had more power in the use of the horn than any other beast; and this is put forth as a figure of the *great power* of Jesus, to gather the people together, according to his word: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me." Jews and Gentiles were the ten thousands of Ephraim, and the thousands of Manasseh. The way thus prepared, the speaker went on to examine Joseph and his history, as a figure of Jesus, and his labors for the salvation of men; and here he found an extensive field opened before him,—a field fruitful as a garden in all the most beautiful flowers of divine metaphor, and in the fruits of grace. As the blessing which came upon the head of Joseph was in all respects as large and rich as could be desired, so we may

believe, with strong confidence, that the Messiah's success shall be complete, and that he shall see of the travail of his soul and shall be satisfied.

It is proper to remark here, that Mr. Ballou was earnestly invited to remove to New York, and locate somewhere in the vicinity of the places at which he preached. Mr. Stacy has described the matter very clearly, and we shall avail ourself of his words :

“ Our friends began to see the vast necessity of more labor in this part of the vineyard. One feeble individual was very incompetent to supply a tithe of the calls that were constantly pouring in, from every quarter, for the preached word. And, indeed, so strong did our friends in Whitestown and vicinity feel, that they even thought of establishing here a ministerial emporium. They, or some of them, suggested the idea of engaging several of our preachers to settle in their town, and so radiate from this centre, to spread the glad tidings of the Great Salvation toward the four cardinal points ! And so zealous were they, that they could hardly be persuaded that such a scheme was impracticable. They felt exceedingly anxious, at any rate, to engage the labors of Mr. Ballou ; and, soon after the session of the Association, addressed a letter to him on the subject. In his reply, he gave them to understand that he considered that my field of labor, and he could not consent to settle there, to discommode or disturb me. As soon as they made this known to me, I assured them that, so far from being discommoded or disturbed by the removal of Mr. Ballou, or any other approved preacher of universal salvation, into this place, I should consider it an important acquisition, and most desirable ; and, if it would facilitate such an object, I would most cheerfully give up Whitestown to him, and every other place where I was preaching, if it would be any inducement for him to come ; that the field was extensive enough for him and me ; and, indeed, it needed many more laborers ; and nothing could gratify me more than to have Mr. Ballou settle in Whitestown ; and I immediately wrote him

to that effect. But they did not succeed in obtaining his valuable labors. I then suggested to them the probability of their being able to obtain Mr. Dean. They therefore opened a correspondence with Mr. Dean, which eventuated in his settlement in that place."*

No one can fail to admire the spirit manifested by Mr. Stacy on that occasion. He had no desire to be the greatest; he was ready to welcome any man into the field of his labor who would work prudently and efficiently for the cause, even though it should make him second in the public esteem.

SECTION XXXI. — CONVENTION OF 1807.

In September of this year Mr. Ballou journeyed into Connecticut, to attend the session of the General Convention, holden at Newtown, in that state, on the 15th, 16th and 17th of September. It was undoubtedly by the influence of Solomon Glover, one of the preachers who resided there, that the meeting was holden in this place, — the first time it had ever held a session in Connecticut. Mr. Ballou, as we have said, made it his invariable custom to attend the Convention. At this session he was elected Moderator. Revs. Edward Turner, Paul Dean, and Abner Kneeland, were all present. Mr. Dean preached from Eph. 2: 19; Mr. Turner from Rom. 8: 23; Mr. Kneeland from Rom. 8: 20, 21; and Mr. Ballou gave the last sermon, from 2 Cor. 4: 5, — "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus, the Lord; and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." He showed the manner in which men preach themselves, by declaring their own

*Memoirs, p. 189.

love for sinners, and desire for their salvation, to be greater than they would allow the love of God to be. They confessed, he said, that, if they had the power, they would save all men; they confessed that God had the power, but denied that he would do it. They therein represented their own love to sinners to be greater than that of the Almighty, and thus preached *themselves*. Mr. Ballou held, also, that men preach themselves when they preach their own creeds, which were their own invention. He then proceeded to describe the true way to preach Christ. He should be preached as God preached him in his promises, and by his prophets,—as Jesus declared himself, and as the apostles preached him. Such was the general character of the sermon on the occasion. Mr. Ballou was again appointed on a committee in regard to a new hymn-book, with Revs. Edward Turner and Abner Kneeland. He was also appointed, with James Babbitt and Paul Dean, to visit the Western Association, which was to meet at Hartwick in June, 1808. Mr. Stacy's account of this meeting shows that Mr. Ballou was present.

“ We obtained the use of the Baptist meeting-house, in the village of Perth, town of Hartwick, for the session of our Association this year (1808); and it was literally filled at every exercise during this session. Mr. Ballou met with us, for the third and last time; but I cannot now recollect who were his colleagues, or whether he had any, on the committee from the General Convention this year. About this time, Mr. James Babbitt removed from Vermont into the town of Duaneburg, in this state, and commenced preaching in that town; and he also attended this Association. Mr. Ferris [namely, Edwin, brother of the deceased Walter], for the first time, took his seat in this council, and delivered one discourse.

"This, like the previous meetings of our Association, and all subsequent meetings certainly for many years, was a season of rejoicing, of refreshing and encouragement. There was in those days no competition for precedence or preëminence—no jealousies nor heart-burnings toward each other; we met in perfect harmony. Our souls were absorbed in the love of the truth; we had no selfish ends to gratify, and no places of preferment to quarrel about; no heavy salaries were offered, nor popular applause rendered, to tempt impostors to intrude upon us; we were glad to give place to those among us who could be the most useful to the great cause, which was the engrossing object of our whole souls. Indeed, we were willing to be led by the most feeble hand to the rich banqueting-house of our conquering Leader, while 'his banner over us was love.'"^{*}

SECTION XXXII.—THE CONVENTION HYMN-BOOK.

We come now to describe the hymn-book which Mr. Ballou was so largely instrumental in preparing. It was usually denominated the Convention hymn-book,[†] and contained 410 hymns. Dr. Watts' psalms and hymns were in use in this country, among all sects, at this time; but the committee thought that, in almost every instance, he extended the punishment of sin infinitely beyond the design of the inspired authors, and rendered his book unfit for Universalist societies. There were certain hymn-books which had been brought out by brethren of

^{*} Memoirs, pp. 194, 195.

[†] "Hymns composed by different authors, at the request of the General Convention of Universalists of the New England States and others; adapted to public and private devotion. 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.'—*St. Paul*. 'O praise the Lord, all ye people, for his mercy endureth forever.'—*David*. Second edition. Charlestown, Mass., printed for the Committee by Samuel T. Armstrong, 1810." The first edition had been printed, we believe, in 1808.

the Universalist denomination; but they had not been greatly used, and were objectionable to this committee for the views taken in many of the hymns of the great subject of atonement.* "The error," said the committee, "that atonement was necessary to reconcile our Heavenly Father to his offspring, in room of reconciling his unreconciled offspring to himself, is found in almost all the authors of divine hymns." It was, in the first place, thought best to bring out a selection from hymns of various authors, especially Watts, to which some original hymns were to have been added; and it was, we think, a just matter of regret that such a plan was not adhered to; but the committee were moved by a consideration which ought not to have influenced them at all, namely, they did not desire those who had purchased certain hymns in other books to be at the expense of purchasing them again in the new hymn-book. The result was, a book of entirely original hymns was brought out, which passed through two editions only. In the course of five years it was laid aside by most of the societies. Those who chose to give it up took Belknap's, some Watts', and some the hymn-book brought out by the Universalist

* The first Universalist hymn-book published in the United States was a reprint of the Messrs. Rely's hymns, preachers of Universalism in London, whom Mr. Murray had known before he came over to this country. The American edition came out at Burlington (supposed Burlington, New Jersey); in 1776, six years after Mr. Murray's landing. The next book came out in 1792, in Philadelphia, where Mr. Winchester had raised up a society. It was published by a committee of the Convention of Universalists, which met in Philadelphia for nearly twenty years, beginning in 1790. The next book was the one published by the Universalist congregation in Boston. — For my historical sketch of Universalist Hymn-books, see *Trumpet*, vol. xix. pp. 46, 50.

society in Boston, under the pastorate of Mr. Murray, which was loaded with hymns in regard to the Trinity, and to that view of the atonement which has always accompanied the Trinitarian theory. Three editions of this book had been published; namely, in 1792, 1802 and 1808.

Of the 410 hymns in the Convention hymn-book, 193 were written by Mr. Ballou, 138 by Mr. Kneeland, 48 by Rev. Sebastian Streeter, 23 by Silas Ballou, and 10 by Mr. Turner. It is not to be denied that Mr. Ballou had some poetic talent; but his mind was more logical than fanciful, and this propensity showed itself in the hymns. See hymn 8, verse 1:

“ According to his holy will,
The Lord his counsels doth fulfil;
In everything his will is done
Beneath the circuit of the sun.”

Again, hymn 327, verse 5:

“ If Christ for sinners feels no love,
What brought him from the realms above,
To die for sinful men?
If Jesus felt no love for me,
Till I his gracious love did see,
How did that love begin?”

But there are hymns which are worthy a place in any hymn-book. We offer only two or three. The following is a description of the glories which are to attend the establishment of the New Jerusalem upon earth. It is the tenth hymn.

- “ When God descends with men to dwell,
And all creation makes anew,
What tongue can half the glories tell,
Or eye the matchless wonders view ?
- “ Zion, the desolate, shall sing,
The wilderness with roses bloom ;
Carmel and Sharon both shall bring
Their spices and their rich perfume.
- “ The weak are strong, the fearful bold,
The dumb shall sing in anthems sweet ;
The lame shall walk, the blind behold
Their God, and worship at his feet.
- “ Celestial streams shall gently flow,
The wilderness shall joyful be ;
Lilies on parched ground shall grow,
And gladness spring from every tree.
- “ The wolves, with lambs, in meadows go ;
The tiger 's harmless as the kid ;
The lion shall no anger show,
But with the calf shall tamely feed.
- “ Thus kings and slaves shall meet in love,
Old pride shall die, and meekness reign,
When God descends from worlds above,
To dwell with men on earth again.”

The following is a paraphrase of several scriptures on the kingdom of Christ. It was the sixty-third hymn :

- “ To Christ, the Son, the Father spake,
Lo ! ask of me, and I will make
The heathen to thy sceptre bend ;
The utmost parts of all the earth
Are thine inheritance by birth,
And wide thine empire shall extend.

“ Now Jesus waves his sceptre high,
Unfurls his banners in the sky,
While loud the gospel trumpets sound ;
His enemies, with sore dismay,
Retire in haste and yield the day,
While trophies to the Lord abound.

“ Before him kings and tyrants fall,
Detest their crowns, and on him call,
And he a pardon freely gives ;
The world in sin was dead before,
To life the world he will restore,
And in him all the world shall live.

“ O Lord, thy government shall be
Extended wide, from sea to sea,
And long thy sceptre thou shalt hold ;
As long as sun or moon shall shine,
Thou King of all the earth shalt reign,
The mysteries of thy grace unfold.”

On the subject of imploring God's assistance in worship, Mr. Ballou furnished the following hymn, the three hundred and sixty-fifth :

“ Grant us a visit, dearest Lord !
In gentle streams of grace descend ;
Open the treasure of thy word,
From every sin thy church defend.

“ Thy branches bend, thou living vine,
Clusters of fruit to us impart ;
O may our joys be all divine,
May heavenly love fill every heart !

“ In unity may we abound,
Thy wisdom with our zeal combine,

And joyful sing on heavenly ground,
And keep the golden path divine.

“ O, may our worship, Lord, to-day
Accepted be in Jesus' name ;
Whether we preach, or sing, or pray,
May love be all the sacred flame ! ”

The Convention hymn-book was by no means destitute of poetic talent. Some of Mr. Streeter's hymns, as well as those of Mr. Ballou and Mr. Turner, have been adopted into other collections, and are in use at the present day. Rev. Edward Turner wrote but ten of the hymns, but these were all of high merit. As a sample of them, we offer the following, to be sung at the close of service :

“ Kind Lord, before thy face,
Again, with joy, we bow,
For all the gifts and grace
Thou dost on us bestow ;
Our tongues would all thy love proclaim,
And chant the honors of thy name.

“ Here, in thine earthly house,
Our joyful souls have met ;
Here paid our solemn vows,
And felt our union sweet ;
For this our tongues thy love proclaim,
And chant the honors of thy name.

“ Thy truth, like ointment shed,
Hath breathed a choice perfume ;
Thy light, divinely spread,
Hath broke the darksome gloom ;
For this our tongues thy love proclaim,
And chant the honors of thy name.

“ Now may we dwell in peace,
 Till here again we come ;
 And may our love increase,
 Till thou shalt guide us home !
 Then shall our tongues thy love proclaim,
 And chant the honors of thy name.”

The following is from the pen of Mr. Ballou, and is on the same subject :

“ From worship now thy church dismiss,
 But not without thy blessing, Lord !
 O, may we taste the sacred bliss,
 And meditate upon thy word !

“ Deep-rooted in each honest heart,
 Thy word of truth, O may it grow !
 Much fruit of love may it impart,
 Where all the gospel graces flow !

“ Oft may these pleasant scenes return,
 When Christians meet to worship thee,
 Whose zeal and love with ardor burn, —
 There may thy children joyful be.

“ And, when these pleasant scenes are past,
 Unto thyself, O, may we come,
 Where vast assemblies meet, at last,
 In Zion, our eternal home !”

Thus we see that the Convention hymn-book was by no means destitute of talent ; and, although there are some hymns therein which are too controversial and argumentative to be sung as parts of public worship, and some that are weak, and insipid, and unpoetical (as the most of Mr. Kneeland's are), yet there are others of, a

high character. We close our account of the book with the following (the twenty-third) by Silas Ballou : *

THE GREAT FIRST CAUSE.

“ The first Almighty Cause,
Who did all things create,
Gave nature all her laws,
Unchangeable as fate :
The Source of life, the Spring of springs,
His praise all heaven and nature sings.

“ Where’er I cast mine eyes,
With raptures I behold,
Below, or in the skies,
Wonders that can’t be told !
In nature’s book, in every line,
His wisdom and perfections shine.

“ On him all worlds depend,
To him all bend the knees :
But none can comprehend
The boundless Deity.
He fills all space, lives everywhere,
Sustains the whole, makes all his care.”

SECTION XXXIII.— CONVENTION OF 1808.

Mr. Ballou attended the Convention of 1808, which held its sitting at Washington, N. H. He was elected clerk, and also preached from Prov. 16 : 20,—“ He that handleth a matter wisely shall find good.” The committee who had been appointed to prepare a new hymn-book reported that they had accomplished that work ; and the

* Silas was a distant relative of Hosea’s father, and lived in Richmond.

Convention, after voting them thanks for their faithfulness and zeal, surrendered all right, title, and interest in the copy-right, to Hosea Ballou, Abner Kneeland, and Edward Turner, their heirs, &c. &c., these parties binding themselves to hold the Convention harmless for any expenses in the work. The brethren present at this meeting were made very sad by the news of the death of their venerable father in the gospel, Rev. Zebulon Streeter, of Surrey, N. H. A committee was appointed to bear an assurance of the sympathies of the Convention to his afflicted family. Rev. Sebastian Streeter,—then about twenty-five years of age,—a distant relative of Zebulon, was ordained at this session. The ordaining prayer was by Mr. Ballou; the sermon by Rev. Edward Turner, from Acts 26: 16—18. In closing his sermon, he said, in reference to the death of the patriarch Zebulon, “May the mantle of our Elijah, the late presiding elder of this convention, fall upon the young Elisha, and clothe him with a double portion of his spirit; and may *his* brethren in due time cry unto *him*, ‘My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof!’” Two of Mr. Ballou’s brothers were present at this meeting, namely, Benjamin and David, both of whom took parts in the services, the latter giving the right hand of fellowship to young Mr. Streeter at his ordination. Mr. Ballou was appointed, as usual, to visit the Western Association, at its annual session in New York, and the Northern, in Vermont. In reference to his labors as a preacher, the circular of this year (1808) said, “Our respected brother, H. Ballou, has seen the wilderness and the desert blossom as the rose. A call for his use-

fulness is sounding from the east and the west. The north is giving up, and the south has no power to keep back." There is no doubt that at this time he had more calls to preach the gospel than it was possible for him to accept. Barnard was the place of his residence, and there was a cluster of societies in that vicinity, of which he was the joint pastor; to them he faithfully performed his duty; but they knew, and he felt, that he owed a duty to the cause, as well as to them. He remembered that the commission to the primitive apostles, given them by their risen Lord, was, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature;" and he desired, as we have before said, to live in obedience to that command so far as he could. All the early Universalist preachers were impelled by the same desire.

SECTION XXXIV.—CONTROVERSY WITH ROBINSON.

Notwithstanding all his journeys and labors, Mr. Ballou was doing a great work at home. He preached to the people the way of everlasting life. He watched over them as the kind shepherd watches the flock. He loved the young; he gained their most affectionate respect. He preached the truth as it is in Jesus. The strains in which he dwelt upon the love of God, in these days, said an aged believer to us some years ago, were most fervent and heart-touching. In this he was an example to all his ministering brethren. Wherever they went (and they travelled much) they called on men to realize the love of God. They took a wise view of their own societies, and always endeavored to be at home on

occasions when they were most wanted. They made their arrangements with all the wisdom they possessed; and, if any sudden emergency at home rendered the services of a clergyman necessary, when the settled pastor was absent, it had to be met by calling in the nearest clergyman of the common faith.

But there were other labors in which Mr. Ballou engaged. We have repeatedly said, he was always ready to do all he could to advance the cause which he loved. There came out this year a "Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist,"* in which Mr. Ballou had a part. This controversy was first introduced by an epistle from Rev. Ebenezer Paine, the Universalist clergyman at Washington, N. H., to Rev. Reed Paige, of Hancock, Rev. Isaac Robinson, of Stoddard, and Rev. Mr. Chapin, of Hillsboro'. These three clergymen of New Hampshire, it was proposed, should unite with the same number of clergymen of like faith from Vermont, to take into consideration the subject of a public conference with the Universalists. Mr. Paine assured them that he and Mr. Ballou would be ready to meet them at a time and place to be mutually agreed upon. Mr. Ballou invited, on his part, Rev. Dr. Burton, Rev. Mr. Tuller, and Rev. Mr. Lyman, clergymen of the first respectability in Vermont, "who (he said) did

* "A Doctrinal Controversy between the Hopkintonian and the Universalist; begun on the part of the Universalist, by Brother Ebenezer Paine, of Washington, N. H., and Br. Hosea Ballou; and continued by Rev. Reed Paige and Rev. I. Robinson, of Stoddard, N. H., on the part of the Hopkintonian." Randolph, Vt. Printed by Sereno Wright, 1808.

not see fit to return me even an answer." Such an agreement as to the expediency of silence was probably the result of a conference. Messrs. Paige and Robinson answered Mr. Paine, declining the public conference, but at the same time saying, "If you should think proper to be at the trouble and expense of publishing on the subject of universal salvation, and will send to each of us a copy of the publication, one or the other of us will endeavor to publish a reply." Having received the letter from Rev. Messrs. Paige and Robinson, Mr. Paine and Mr. Ballou came out with a pamphlet, in which Mr. Paine reviewed the answer of Messrs. Paige and Robinson, and Mr. Ballou made certain observations on the neglect which his letter met in Vermont.

They then proceeded to lay down the basis on which they were willing to rest the doctrine of universal salvation, as follows :

"1st. God is equally good to the whole human race. 2d. The justice of God requires the reconciliation of all the unreconciled. 3d. The doctrine that God is equally good to all the human race sets his character in a more acceptable light to the understanding of his creatures than the reverse."

To support the first of these statements, they quoted the six following scriptures. 1st. Psalm 145 : 9,—“The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works.” 2nd. 1 John 4 : 8,—“God is love.” 3d. James 3 : 17,—“The wisdom that is from above is without partiality.” 4th. Acts 17 : 29,—“We are the offspring of God.” 5th. 2 Peter 3 : 9,—“The Lord is not

willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance." 6th. 1 Timothy 2 : 3, 4,— " God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth." To these scripture evidences they attempted to add a few illustrations, with the assistance of other passages.

The second statement they endeavored to sustain by quoting the divine law of love, which requires all men to love God and one another, with certain other arguments. The third statement being evidently true from the correctness of the first, they esteemed it necessary to illustrate it only by a few observations. From the whole they drew inferences resulting in the doctrine of the universal holiness and happiness of mankind. Such was the substance of their first pamphlet.

In 1809 came out Mr. Robinson's reply, an octavo pamphlet of sixty pages, entitled " A Candid Reply to a late publication, entitled A Doctrinal Controversy," &c. &c. Rev. Isaac Robinson was as well calculated to meet the Universalists as any man in the State of New Hampshire. He had been liberally educated, and was a man gifted naturally with a strong, clear, discriminating mind. Unfortunately he was a Hopkinsian, that is, a modified Calvinist; and of course he could not defend — for no man can defend successfully — that doctrine. He had been settled at Stoddard, in January, 1803; and his ministry has continued in that quiet, obscure town, for more than fifty years. Ebenezer Paine, who was somewhat known in the first part of this controversy, was *not* a strong man. He was one of that class of men who are more likely to put themselves forward than to sustain them-

selves well. The duty of replying to Mr. Robinson fell ultimately altogether on Mr. Ballou. Mr. Robinson endeavored to show that the passages adduced by Messrs. Paine and Ballou did not support their positions. He also sought to invalidate their arguments, and to prove, by the testimony of the sacred writers, that the doctrine of endless misery is clearly taught in the word of God. Nor did he fail to close his book, as is customary with those who believe the doctrine he defended, by seeking to work upon the fears of his readers, in warning them to flee from the terrible doom which he would have them believe awaited them.

SECTION XXXV.—THE CANDID REVIEW.

At what time in the year 1809 Mr. Robinson's pamphlet came out, we cannot now say; but Mr. B. did not receive it in season to issue a reply to it, until his removal to Portsmouth, which took place in that year. To preserve the connection of the subject, we shall describe the reply in this place. He entitled it "A Candid Review," &c. &c. Mr. Robinson had insisted that God is not equally good to all men. Mr. Ballou placed on his title-page, as his motto, the words of Ezekiel, "Yet ye say the way of the Lord is not equal;" and, because he intended to try Mr. Robinson's arguments very carefully, he took also the words of Obadiah and placed them there,—"How are the things of Esau searched out! How are his hidden things sought up!" Mr. Robinson denied that God is equally good to all the human race; and Mr. Ballou

said, "He has seen fit to place the ground of his arguments on principles which he has refuted himself."

"The ground on which my opponent has placed his argument to prove that God is not 'equally good to all men,' is the *righteousness* of some, and the *wickedness* of others; and yet he contends that those who are saved by Jesus Christ are so *wicked* as to deserve endless punishment. Now, if he be correct in his idea, that the elected ones are so *wicked* as to deserve endless punishment, does it not completely refute the notion that God is better to them than he is to the rest of mankind, on account of the *righteousness* of the one and the *wickedness* of the other?

* * * * *

"Although no candid reader can help seeing the impropriety of the ground which my opponent has taken, yet it may still be a query whether the side which he has taken may not be supported on different ground.

"The ground on which it must be supported, if supported at all, must be by finding a justifiable cause why God should make some men with a design which rendered their endless sin and misery inevitable, and others with a design which rendered their endless holiness and happiness inevitable. If God, in the creation of mankind, had as merciful intentions towards all as he had towards part, then he was equally good to all; but, if he had merciful designs towards some, and not towards others, then he was not equally good to all; and if he were not equally good to all in the design of creation, he is not now equally good to all, as he is unchangeable. But, if he were equally good to all men in the design of creation, he is so now, as he is unchangeable. This is the ground on which the great question must rest.

* * * * *

"My Hopkintonian opponent has denied God's being *EQUALLY* good to all men, and also he has denied that justice requires the reconciliation of all the unreconciled. On the other hand, I have in this review endeavored to support the affirmative of these questions, in such a way as I hope will make the subject plain to the reader, who will listen to the necessary caution to lay

prejudice aside, and judge impartially from the evidence presented. That the reader who feels a prepossession of mind in opposition to my main arguments may in some measure divest himself of that embarrassment, let him query with himself as follows: If I contend that God is not 'equally good to all men,' do I not give him a character which I should be unwilling to imitate? Do I wish to prove to the world that I am not equally good to my own offspring? If God did from all eternity predestinate some men to endless misery, and others to endless happiness, does it not look as much like cruelty and partiality as anything I can describe? What would God have done differently from this, if he had been partial, or if he had been cruel? Let the reader ask himself again, If God be 'equally good to all men,' is that not a lovely character? If I believed that he was, would that belief render him less lovely in my mind; or, would it cause me to love my fellow-creatures any less, if I believed God loved all men equally? If I grant that divine justice requires the reconciliation of all the unreconciled, does it not bring justice to require the same thing which divine grace through Christ was designed to effect? If I maintain that justice is opposed to the reconciliation of the sinner, and that divine mercy is in favor of reconciling the sinner, do I not set justice and mercy at variance?

"I would not even wish for the reader to make any further use of these queries than to enable him to enter on the reading of the following work, with a design to give it an impartial hearing, and to judge of it by the light of the divine testimony.

"If the reader be disposed to say that it is just for God to be better to the *righteous* than to the *wicked*, let him ask himself the question, Do I not believe that those for whom Christ died, and who will finally obtain salvation through his grace, were once 'children of wrath, even as others'? When he has answered this question, let him look and see if he have not destroyed the notion that God is good to some, and not to others, on account of the righteousness of the one, and the wickedness of the other."

We now enter the body of the work, and we begin at

once to see the far-reaching sagacity of the author. Mr. Robinson had said, "To deceive ourselves upon this solemn point (that of endless misery) can answer no valuable purpose, but may be attended with the most dangerous and fatal consequences:" a very reasonable saying, one would think, at first sight. Who could object to it? But Mr. Ballou's mind came to the following conclusions :

" 1st. If to deceive ourselves on this *solemn point* can answer no valuable purpose, but may be attended with the *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences*, it is a fair conclusion, that not to be deceived upon this *solemn point* would be attended with the *most safe* and *secure effects*. 2d. It is clearly seen that these *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences* are supposed to terminate in the endless misery of those who are deceived on this *solemn point*; which affords this fair conclusion, that, if it were possible to undeceive all men with regard to this *solemn point*, it would secure them from those *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences* which are supposed to terminate in endless misery. 3dly. If to deceive ourselves upon this *solemn point* can answer no *valuable purpose*, it is a fair conclusion, that the *endless misery*, which is supposed to be these *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences*, cannot be a *valuable purpose*. 4thly. If endless misery be not a *valuable purpose*, I conceive it would be improper to say that God has *purposed* it. 5thly. If to undeceive all men in regard to this *solemn point* would secure them against those *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences*, it must appear not a little surprising to find arguments arranged to prove that those *most dangerous* and *fatal consequences* stand in the purposes of God, and in the immutable system of truth."

Mr. Ballou had quoted the words, "The Lord is good to all, and his tender mercies are over all his works," in proof of the proposition that the Lord is equally good to all men. Mr. Robinson, on his part, had taken the

ground that this passage did not prove that God was *equally* good to all men; and he further said that "God may manifest much tender mercy to all men in this world, and grant them many privileges and enjoyments, and yet all may not be equally happy, but a part may actually perish, through a criminal perversion of his goodness."—p. 10. To this Mr. Ballou replied:

"It strikes my mind differently. If we grant that God's *tender mercies* are over *all* his works, it seems most reasonable to conclude that he is *equally* good to all. Mr. R. further says, if we say that the text implies that God is equally good to all the human race, 'I would answer, that if the text implies this, it as really implies that God is equally good to "*all his works*," rational and irrational; and will make them all equally and eternally happy.' In order for Mr. R. to have made this reasoning appear scriptural, he ought to have shown from scripture testimony that the phrase *tender mercies* means nothing more than the *temporal favors* which *wicked men* and the *irrational part of creation* enjoy in this world; and then it would have become his duty to show from scripture that God had got some *better mercies* than his *tender mercies*, for his favorites! If on my part I can make it appear from scripture that the phrase *tender mercies* means something more than *temporal favors*, then of course Mr. R. must acknowledge our text as evidence in our favor."*

There is so much of this book that is very forcible and truly excellent, and the book itself in this day is so seldom met with, that we are tempted to quote more largely from it than we otherwise should. There is scarcely any work of Mr. Ballou into which he infused more vigor. But we must pass over much that we should be glad to give, and come to the second proof of the first

* Candid Review, p. 23.

proposition, namely, "God is love." Mr. Robinson had said, "Though much dependence is placed on this text by the Universalists, yet I humbly conceive it affords not the smallest shadow of proof of their scheme. It no more follows, because God is love, that he is equally good to all mankind, and will bestow on them all an equal quantity of happiness, than it follows, because 'he is a consuming fire,' that he will consume all mankind." * Mr. Ballou met his opponent promptly on this ground :

"If God's being love does not afford the smallest shadow of proof that God is equally good to all men, and will make them all equally happy, then, of course, if God were hatred, it would afford the largest substance of proof that the statement is correct. I wonder Mr. R. would reason so unsafely. He would have appeared much more judicious on this point, if he had admitted that the passage 'God is love,' taken by itself, appeared to favor our cause, and then to have proceeded to show that, by taking that passage in connection with others, it might with propriety be limited as to the force of its evidence in favor of Universalism. But when he says it does not afford the smallest shadow of proof, &c., he was surely inconsiderate."

Mr. Robinson had said :

"Since those who embrace Universalism place so much dependence on those texts of scripture which speak of the love and mercy of God, I beg leave to remark, that a part of mankind are represented, by the inspired writers, as being the objects of his hatred, anger and wrath. 'The wicked and him that loveth violence his soul hateth.' 'God is angry with the wicked every day.' 'He that believeth not the Son shall not see life : but the wrath of God abideth on him.'" †

Mr. Ballou acknowledged that in one respect Mr. R.

* Candid Reply, pp. 12, 13.

† Ib. pp. 14, 15.

had given the Universalist his true character. "We do," he said, "place much dependence on the goodness and mercy of God, and I think it will be well enough to continue to do so until something else more permanent is presented." Mr. R.'s object here unquestionably was to prove that God did not love all mankind; he loved merely the righteous, and he hated the wicked. Mr. Ballou saw fit to compare this with what Mr. R. had said in another place. He speaks earnestly, and without fastidiousness as to style; but he had no feeling of bitterness towards his antagonist. He said:

"Now, reader — be careful, look attentively! — what did Mr. R. wish to prove by the quotation above? Did he not wish to prove that God does not love sinners? Would he believe that I meant to do him justice, if I should pretend that his object was to prove that God loved sinners? No, he would not. Then he cannot complain if I understand him to mean, by the quotations which he introduced, that God does not love the sinner. Now see what miserable work he makes with his own argument. On page 13th he says, we had no right to assume, as a conceded point, that 'it is the nature of love to seek the best good of all the objects of love.' And he goes on to prove that the statement is not true; and here, on the 15th page, he endeavors to prove in a very positive manner that the wicked are not the *objects* of love. I ask who can be the objects of love, if the wicked be not? Answer, the righteous. Then Mr. R. makes out again that it is not the nature of love to seek the best good of all the righteous! Mr. R. cannot blame me for bringing his contradictions into comparison." *

The third proof-text was James 3 : 17, teaching the *impartiality* of God. To meet this proof was a hard matter for Mr. R. He had allowed that all men deserve

* Review, p. 67.

endless condemnation. If so, how could a part be saved, and a part be lost forever, without partiality in the being who ordained such a result? We give the words of Mr. Ballou :

“ On my opponent's ground of reasoning, all mankind deserved endless punishment. Keep this in view, and then observe our third evidence, which is, that the ‘ wisdom which is from above is without partiality.’ On page 16, Mr. R. contends that God had ‘ sufficient reason to be more on the part of the *righteous* than on the part of the *wicked*.’ Now, how does this agree with the idea that even those whom Christ saves are wicked enough to deserve endless punishment? It would seem that my opponent forgot, while writing one sentence, what he wrote in a preceding one! I can hardly believe he would have thus contradicted himself, if he had been alone in that work.

“ I hate to mention anything which may hurt the feelings of my opponent, for surely I could not knowingly give him pain without feeling it myself; but it is not possible for me to reconcile such contradictions. Who are the *righteous*, whose *righteousness* justifies God in being more on their part than he is on the part of the wicked? Mr. R. represents those who are to be saved as *deserving* endless punishment; and then, close by, represents them as being so righteous as to justify God in being more on their part than he is on the part of the *wicked*; which intimates that those whom he represents in one place as deserving endless punishment are not wicked! When such contradictions appear, I cannot but feel a little mindful about the success of the Hopkintonian in making a common cause with other denominations, who believe in the idea of *endless misery*. I should not think strange if they should feel a little backward about taking into common stock arguments which would naturally involve as many as make use of them.” *

It cannot fail to show certain of the peculiar traits of

* Review, pp. 77, 78.

Mr. Ballou's mind, to take a few brief passages from succeeding pages. Mr. Robinson had quoted the text, "Who will render to *every man* according to his deeds;" and "there is no respect of persons with God." See Rom. 2: 6—11 for the whole passage.* Mr. Ballou replied:

"Remember, that Mr. R. argues, that if we prove that mankind do not deserve endless punishment, we thereby subvert the gospel. Thus he contends, as I have before noticed, that those who are finally saved deserve eternal punishment. Now, does he believe the text which he quoted, 'Who will render to every man according to his deeds'? If the deeds of those who are finally saved by the gospel (which gospel Mr. R. is careful not to have subverted) *deserve endless punishment*, and God render to every man according to his deeds, then those who are finally saved by the gospel will be endlessly punished according to their deeds! Such arguing is confusion! God is a God of order, and not of confusion. Truth will never thus contradict itself. There can be no greater evidence to prove a doctrine false than its own contradictions."†

Paul had said, God was no respecter of persons in rewarding men *according* to their works.—Rom. 2: 11. From this Mr. Robinson said (to give his own words), "I might, therefore, venture to turn the tables on my opponents, and maintain that by holding God is *equally* as good to the wicked as to the righteous, and shows as much friendship to the one class as the other, *they* make him partial."‡ Mr. Ballou replied:

"Now, let us look at the tables which are turned upon us, and take particular notice with what success my opponent maintains his statement, that God is partial if he show as much friendship

* Candid Reply, p. 18. † Review, p. 82. ‡ Candid Reply, p. 18.

to the *wicked* as to the righteous, and is equally good to both. Let us ask what Mr. R. says, in the above quotation, will be a complete subversion of the gospel? Answer, To prove that none of the human race deserve eternal punishment. Why does he think that would be a complete subversion of the gospel? Answer, Because then Christ did not die to save them from eternal punishment. Here, then, we see, what I have before noticed, that he believes that all those whom Christ died to save deserved eternal punishment. Now, it is *those who deserved eternal punishment* that God is more in favor with than he is with the wicked! Mr. R. argues that, if God be *equally* as good to the wicked as he is to the righteous, he is partial. This is what he says he will *venture to maintain*. Well, how good does he suppose God is to the wicked who deserve eternal punishment? Answer, To them he is so good as to give his Son to die for them, to save them from eternal punishment. And how much better does he think God will be to the righteous? Here we are brought up!

"Reader, how do the *tables* stand now? Can we believe my opponent learned to dispute by studying him who disputed the doctors in the temple, to the astonishment of all who heard him?"*

Mr. Ballou had endeavored to show that God is equally good to all his offspring, by the law of man's nature as a parent, by which he is led to love his children equally, and strive to the utmost of his power to make them equally happy. To this Mr. R. replied:

"If there be any force in this argument, it consists purely in the supposition that, if God do not treat all his offspring, or rational creatures, just as a good earthly parent would treat his children, he would forfeit the character of a good Father. But my opponents well know that this is not admitted by the believers in endless punishment; and for them to take it for granted, is

* Review, pp. 83, 84.

humbly to beg the question. Let them prove it, and they will oblige us to believe it. But do they verily believe that a good earthly father would treat any of his children as they know, and acknowledge, God has treated some of his offspring?" &c.*

Mr. Ballou replies :

"You must be careful here, kind reader, and not mistake Mr. R. He does not object to the character of a *bad* earthly parent by which to represent the *character* of our *Heavenly Father*, but it is the *good* earthly parent's character which he will not allow to be a fit emblem of the character of our Father who is in heaven! This confession is very frank, and very consistent with Hopkintonian doctrine. What does Mr. R. say he will not believe until it be proved? Answer, That God, our Heavenly Father, treats all his offspring as a *good* earthly parent does his children. I believe he spoke safely; he never will believe this truth until he is obliged to. It is one of the hardest things, to acknowledge God to be as *good* as we are, that vain man was ever humbled to do. To acknowledge God to be as *good* to his offspring as a *good* parent on earth is to his, is, as my opponent, in effect, acknowledges, entirely inconsistent with the Hopkintonian creed."

Mr. Robinson continues :

"The angels are as much the offspring of God as men are. But still he suffered a part of them to apostatize, and cast them down to hell, and reserved them in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day."†

Mr. Ballou replies :

"Mr. R. here wishes to know if we verily believe that a *good* earthly father would thus treat his offspring. I will answer him; but I wish to ask, first, what the reason is that he does not believe that God treated those angels as a *good* earthly father would his offspring? If a *good* earthly father saw that a certain

* Candid Reply, p. 19.

† Candid Reply, p. 20.

event, though deeply afflictive to his children, would be incalculably best for them finally, would he not consent that his children's *greatest good* should be finally effected? There is no doubt on this question. It is granted that he would. In what, then, did the conduct of God differ from that of a *good* earthly father in suffering angels to sin? Answer, A *good* earthly father would not thus have suffered them to sin, unless he saw that it would finally terminate in their good, and in his glory as a kind father; but God suffered his angelic offspring to apostatize from the enjoyments of his bosom, knowing and designing that these prodigals should never, to all eternity, taste the sweets of his nature again! My blood feels as if it were freezing! O, my God, in whose hands my breath is, pardon the folly of thy dark and benighted children! O, may the doctrine of thy unbounded love triumph over such floods of error! I answer Mr. R.'s question in the affirmative. I believe a *good* earthly father would do with his children exactly as God does with his offspring, in all cases, without one exception; for I believe a *good* earthly father would submit his children to *anything* which he thought would be for their good, and I do not believe our Heavenly Father ever submitted one of his offspring to a circumstance, without *knowing* and *designing* the good of his offspring as the object of the event. I will here insert a passage of scripture, which I shall hereafter make some further use of, as it is an evidence in this case.—‘The Lord will not cast off forever, but, though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the *multitude* of his mercies.’ If God cast off any of his creatures in such a way as never to receive them again, then he does *not do* as a *good* earthly father would do; but he does in that case as a *bad* earthly father would do, and as Jeremiah says he will *not do*. Directly following my last quotation from Mr. R.'s 20th page, he further says, ‘But what earthly parent, who has any goodness in him, would suffer a part of his children to rebel against him, if it were in his power to prevent it, and, after he had voluntarily permitted them to rebel, would cast them into hell-fire, and torment them there for thousands of years!’ Here again, reader, you ought not to misunderstand Mr. R. It is the earthly parent, who has *some goodness* in him, that would not do

as God does. Observe the quoted words,—‘But what earthly parent, who has *any goodness* in him,’ &c. I wish the reader not to misunderstand my opponent; he does not speak of an earthly parent who possesses an uncommon degree of goodness, but one who has ‘*any goodness in him*,’ that is, the least mite! What is the conclusion? Answer, If no ‘earthly parent, who has any goodness in him,’ would treat his offspring as God does his, then of necessity, in order to find an earthly parent who could even imitate our divine Parent, it must be one who has no goodness in him!’* .

Let it not be understood that we have quoted all that Mr. Ballou said on any of these points. Our intention is to give the reader merely a sample of the arguments, which we think manifest an acuteness and force of reasoning equal to what we find in any other work of our author. His antagonist was regarded as one of the masters in polemics; and was probably put forward by his brethren as one who was as competent to defend the doctrine of endless misery, against the attacks of the Universalists, as any other man.

We come now to Mr. Ballou’s sixth and last evidence to prove that God is equally good to all men, namely, the words of Paul,—“Who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.”—1 Tim. 2: 4. In reply to this quotation, Mr. Robinson said:

“In order to have shown that this text afforded any evidence of the truth of their doctrine, they ought to have proved, 1st, that the term *all* here must *necessarily* include every individual of the human race; and, 2d, that there is an infallible connection between God’s willing the salvation of all the individuals of mankind, *in the sense of this text*, and their actual salvation.”†

* Review, pp. 89—91.

† Candid Reply, p. 26. .

How did Mr. Ballou meet these statements?

“In justice to the principles of good reasoning, I must here observe that Mr. R. has departed from propriety, and this must be evident not only to himself, but to every candid observer. 1st. Is not the most natural sense of the word *all* unlimited? Answer, It is. 2d. Is it not the most natural conclusion, from the principle that God will have a thing take place, that that thing will take place? Answer, It is. Then, the plain fact is, we had a right to use the above scripture as evidence to prove our doctrine, without proving that the *most natural sense* of the text was the true one; and if Mr. R. finds himself under the necessity of disallowing the most natural sense of this scripture, of course it belongs to him to find proof which may justify himself in so doing. And this he ought to have done by strict attention to the context, and to other scriptures on the same subject. But, in room of fixing the meaning of the term *all*, by bringing forward that term as used a number of times in the context, and on the very subject on which it is used in the quotation, he took as distant a flight as the wings of his imagination could support, and lit on as different a subject as he could find in the whole Bible. But, if he be determined to maintain his partial views of God's grace, he must fly still further, nor will the wings of the morning carry him beyond the reach of that love which triumphed on Calvary. On his 27th page, Mr. R. reasons thus: ‘It is well known that this term,’ meaning the term *all*, ‘is often used by the sacred writers in a limited sense, or to signify a part only.’ We read that ‘all Judea, and all the regions round about Jordan, were baptized of John;’ and that ‘all the people were baptized’ of him; and yet we are informed that the Pharisees and lawyers rejected the counsel of God against themselves, not being baptized of him. — I wish to ask if a subject could have been found in scripture more distant, or different from the one in which the term *all* is used in our quotation? What is the reason that my opponent is at such a distance from the subject? Answer, Because nowhere in scripture can he find the term *all* limited, when applied to important doctrinal subjects.

"Let us attend to his mode of reasoning, and see what a peculiar faculty Mr. R. possesses to destroy the ground which he wishes to maintain. How does he know that the term *all* is meant to be limited when it is said, '*All* the people were baptized'? Answer, Because the scripture gives us an account of some who were not baptized. Is not this the reason which he assigns? Surely it is. I ask again, if there had been no account in the scripture which at all intimated that some were not baptized, would he ever have doubted that they were *all* baptized? Answer, No. Then, what right has he to use such a case to limit the term *all*, when used in a case where no scripture account limits it? The candid reader must see that the mode of reasoning which Mr. R. makes use of to restrain the term *all*, in Timothy, goes directly against him, and amounts to an acknowledgment that it ought not to be restrained. For, if he assign no other reason — and no other could he assign — why the term *all* must be considered *limited*, when it is said '*all* the people were baptized,' than that the scripture gives us an account of some who were not baptized, then he acknowledges the word ought to be taken in an unrestrained sense, unless the scripture on the very same subject restrains it. This is fair reasoning, or I know not what is. We read that '*all* have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' Now, who would think me to be serious, should I undertake to restrain the term *all*, in this scripture, by quoting such a passage as Mr. R. has to prove that some of the people in Judea were not baptized of John?

"On the second part of this subject, Mr. R. has succeeded to destroy his own argument exactly in the same way as he did on the first. On page 28th, he observes, '*If* we should admit that the word *all* here includes all the individuals of mankind, it would not follow that they would all be saved; unless it can be proved that there is an infallible connection between God's willing the salvation of all men, in the sense of this text, and their actual salvation.' Here it is easy to see that Mr. R.'s statement is objectionable; as it is evident that the reverse of his statement is the most reasonable. If it be granted that the text means that God will have *all* men to be *saved*, and to come unto the knowledge

of the truth, it ought to be admitted that *all* men will be saved, unless it can be proved, from scripture, that there is *not* an infallible connection between God's will and the actual accomplishment of it; for, as I have said before, the most natural conclusion is that God's will will be done. Having shown this statement incorrect, let us next examine his reasoning. On his 28th page, Mr. R., with a design to show that, though God wills the salvation of all men, yet his will may not be done, quotes the following, 'I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.' To this he subjoins by way of explanation, 'I will have men show mercy rather than bring sacrifice.' Then he observes, 'But it will not be pretended that his will respecting this was always done; we know that the Scribes and Pharisees brought sacrifice, but did not show mercy.' If the scripture, then, had given no intimation that the Scribes and Pharisees were wanting in respect to this duty, would Mr. R. have known that they were? No, surely he would not. What right, then, has he to urge this to prove that God's *will* will not be done in a case where there is no scripture authority to prove that it will not? This mode of reasoning is directly against him; for it amounts to this,—that the will of God ought to be taken in a positive sense, unless the scripture on the same subject relaxes it. Having shown the impropriety of Mr. R.'s statements on this passage in Timothy, and having shown that his reasoning on his statements goes directly to destroy the ground he wishes to support, I might now with great propriety dismiss this part of my subject, and proceed; but I am disposed, in order that this subject may be fully seen in its strength, to proceed to do all which my opponent has required, though I have shown why he had no right to make the demand. First, then, I will show that the term *all* in the text means every individual of the human race; and, second, I will show that there is an infallible connection between God's will, in this case, and the actual salvation of *all men*.'"*

Mr. Ballou then proceeded to show that the term *all*, in the passage quoted, evidently signifies every individual;

* Candid Review, pp. 122—126.

and, having done this, he went on to establish the fact, that "*there is an infallible connection between God's will in the salvation of all men and their actual salvation.*"

He came, after this, to his second general statement, namely, "That the justice of God requires the reconciliation of all the unreconciled." Our quotations from this work are already so large, that we feel a degree of unwillingness to increase them; but it should be stated that the remarks of Mr. Ballou under this head of the subject are very clear, pungent and efficacious. It seems as if he wrote with a pen of phosphorus, and that lines of light and truth were the result. But we pass to the third general statement, namely, "The doctrine that God is equally good to all the human race sets his character in a more acceptable light, to the understanding of his creatures, than the reverse."* Mr. Robinson had taken the ground that Universalism might make the character of God more acceptable to the *unrenewed* heart, but not to that of the saint. This he was willing to admit; he apprehended no detriment to his scheme by it. In regard to the *wicked, unrenewed* heart, loving Universalism, Mr. Ballou wrote in these terms:

"Let us examine this *wicked, unrenewed* heart. What are its desires? Answer, Its desires are *equally* benevolent to all men. Is there any room in such a man's heart for hatred? No; he loves all men *equally*. May he not hate the wicked? No, not unless he hates the righteous; because his "*unrenewed*," heart is moulded into equal goodness to all men." * * * Will not my opponent ask now, whether we may not hate the wicked without

* Candid Review, p. 63.

hating Christ? I answer, No; for he loves the wicked, and, if we love him, we shall love what he loves. If it be a mark of an un-renewed heart to desire equal favors for all men, then it is evident that when a Hopkintonian minister, or a minister of any other order, *prays* for the salvation of *all men*, which is frequently the case, it either proves that their hearts are *unrenewed*, or it proves them to be the same kind of Pharisees as those were whom Jesus called hypocrites; for, if they make a formal prayer for what they feel no inward desires to gain, it is hypocrisy." *

Mr. Robinson said:

"But we know that God has suffered sin and misery to take place, and to exist under his government, for nearly six thousand years, without any impeachment of his moral character. And if he may do it six thousand, why not for six hundred thousand, or to eternity, without any impeachment of his character?" †

Mr. Ballou replies:

"This, if I recollect right, is the only attempt which Mr. R. has made to show the propriety of the eternal continuance of sin. I will examine it. The argument is this: if it be no impeachment of the character of God to suffer sin to exist any given time, it must be consistent with his character to suffer it to exist to eternity. If this reasoning be good, it furnishes data for the following: If it be no impeachment of the character of God to suffer his saints to be *tempted*, *afflicted*, and *persecuted* for any given time, it must be consistent with his character to suffer them to be thus tempted, afflicted, and persecuted to eternity! If it be no impeachment of the character of God to suffer the rich to oppress the poor, and the powerful to oppress the weak, for any given time, it must be consistent with his character thus to suffer oppression to eternity! If it be no impeachment of the character of God to delay judgments against sin for any given time, it must be con-

* Candid Review, p. 169.

† Candid Reply, p. 39.

sistent with his character thus to delay to eternity! If it be no impeachment of the character of God to suffer temporal things to exist for any given time, it must be consistent with his character to continue all temporal things to eternity!" *

At the close of Mr. Robinson's pamphlet, he quotes many passages from the Scriptures, in proof of the doctrine of endless misery. He perhaps knew not how to explain those texts consistently with the doctrine which his antagonist believed; but Mr. Ballou shows very clearly, if they are understood in their primitive and proper sense, they furnish no evidence against that doctrine; and with a very lucid exposition of those passages he concludes the work. At the very last, he speaks of the style in which he had written, of his pleasure in having a new opportunity of defending the doctrine of his God, and of his probable disagreement with some Universalists, in the following terms:

"Though I have directed my arguments, in general, in such a method as may appear *pointed*, yet I hope the nature of the subject will show its propriety. The minds of men, in general, are much influenced by the prejudices of education; it therefore requires argument to be brought in as plain and direct a manner as possible, in order to get the mind awake so as to think. I hope Mr. R. will be disposed to put the most favorable construction on any words or sentences which may strike his mind at first disagreeably; for I say, in the fear of God, that I consider him as a brother in my heavenly Father's family. I believe him to be an heir with me of that life which is the gift of God in Christ. I believe that he is possessed of a soul which is capable of rejoicing in the gospel of God's *Universal Love* when he shall be convinced of the truth. It is possible that he, and

* Candid Review, pp. 175, 176.

others who believe with him, may condescend to read this review; and it is possible, and I think probable, that God may bless this work to their spiritual benefit. I can truly say it is the fervent desire of my heart that this may be the case; for, however small human means may appear to us, God is able to make them great and extensive blessings.

“I am happy in the thought that I have this repeated opportunity of presenting to the public the testimony of divine truth against the doctrines of Antichrist and the abominations of the mother of harlots. The thought that I have lived and been enabled to point out the false doctrines which have overspread the Christian world, and have, by the assistance of God, been enabled to vindicate his adorable character in publications which will be read by thousands, when this feeble tongue shall speak no more, and these fingers, which are now writing, shall have been crumbled to ashes, gives my mind such peace and consolation as language can never express.

“I ought to observe, to my brethren in the ministry of God’s universal goodness, that I think it very likely that they will find in this review some things not altogether agreeable to their minds; yet I have confidence that in the general argument we have agreement and fellowship. And I am happy in being persuaded that the true light is fast increasing, to the destruction of darkness and error. I wish to observe that it becomes us, being set for the defence of the gospel, not only to be ready to meet the enemies of Zion, wherever they make their appearance, on the open ground of fair investigation, but also to be ever careful that we fight under the banner of love.

“To the many who, through grace, have obtained a knowledge of God’s universal goodness and equal loving-kindness to mankind, the exhortation is proper, that you let your light shine before men, that you live in the spirit of universal philanthropy, and adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things. It is a thing much to be desired that all denominations would endeavor to cultivate love and harmony with one another, and strive for the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace.

“Reader, may the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love

of God, and the communion of the eternal Spirit, be in thy soul, world without end!" *

Thus ends one of the most remarkable books which Mr. Ballou had at this time written,—a book inferior in no respect, so far as the force of argument is concerned, to the "Treatise on Atonement." Indeed, it is equal, in that respect, to any work he ever wrote. It teaches the universal goodness of God; the infinity of all his attributes; his supreme and holy will in the permission of evil of every kind; and the final resolution of all, under the control of the Universal Father, into universal holiness and love, and reconciliation to God. But one edition of it was ever printed, which was soon out of the market; and for thirty years it has been difficult to obtain a copy of it.

SECTION XXXVI.—DEDICATION AND INSTALLATION AT
SALEM, MASS.

In the month of June, 1809, Mr. Ballou journeyed from Barnard to Salem, Mass., for the purpose of being present at the dedication of the new Universalist meeting-house in that place. These services were held on Thursday, 22d of the month, and it was a great occasion. The new meeting-house was a very large and elegant one for that day, and the society was in a state of prosperity. Expectations had, previously, been very high. Father Murray, weak and feeble, was to be there; and Jones of Gloucester; and Richards of Portsmouth; and Ballou from Vermont; and young Mr. Sebastian Streeter;—these

* Candid Review, pp. 205—207.

were all to come together to dedicate the new house, and install their dearly beloved brother, Edward Turner, to the pastorate, which they had no doubt he would highly honor. Father Murray made the dedicatory prayer, which melted into unison every heart. Mr. Richards was a very animating preacher; of fruitful imagination, active in gesticulation, and with a great flow of language. His text was these words: "The feast of dedication." He spoke of the glory of the temple of Solomon; the history of the Jews, the promises of God to them, and the rites and forms of their religion. Murray watched him closely, with a tearful eye. The fact that Mr. Richards was about to remove to Philadelphia, away from dear New England, his home,—to leave his dear ministering brethren, whom he had so often met in Convention, to see them, perhaps, no more,—gave a touch of sadness to the otherwise joyful scene. As he drew towards the end of the discourse, which was very long, he turned round to Father Murray, seized his hand, and cried out, in the language of Elisha to the ascending Elijah, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof!" The salutation was so sudden, and Father Murray's strength had been so much impaired by age and sickness, that he shook with emotion, while the speaker continued his very rapturous address. Mr. Richards tendered farewell to his ministering brethren, whom he was to meet in Convention no more, and bade them bear to those who should be present at the approaching session, in Barnard, his most affectionate regards; then, lifting both arms to heaven, he said, "Arise, O Lord, thou and the ark of thy strength, and

enter into thy rest!" and, in a very proper form, dedicated the house to God, and the preaching of his word. In the afternoon the installation took place, when Mr. Ballou preached a very appropriate sermon, from 1 Cor. 4: 2,—“Moreover, it is required in stewards, that a man be found faithful.” This was said, by the fathers who heard it, to be a very sound and valuable discourse. The great points were, that ministers are stewards of the manifold grace of God; the treasure is committed to them for the benefit of men; and they must be *faithful* in dispensing the word of life to needy, perishing souls. The services were performed in the following order: Introductory prayer, by Rev. Thomas Jones; Sermon, by Rev. Hosea Ballou; Call and Acceptance read by Rev. George Richards; Installing Prayer, by Rev. H. Ballou; Presentation of the Scriptures, by Rev. George Richards; Charge, by Rev. John Murray; Right Hand of Fellowship, by Rev. G. Richards; Concluding Prayer, by Rev. Sebastian Streeter; Address and Benediction, by Rev. Edward Turner. We have given the account of the services of this day, because it was one of the most memorable occasions of the kind that had ever occurred in the state. Mr. Richards shortly after left New England, which he never saw again.

SECTION XXXVII.—STANDING WHEN HE LEFT VERMONT.

Mr. Ballou received, in August, 1809, an invitation to become the pastor of the Universalist society in Portsmouth, N. H. He had discharged his duty faithfully to the society in Barnard, and the other societies in the

vicinity of that town over which he had been settled, so far as it was possible for him to do it, consistently with his paramount duty to travel and preach the gospel in destitute places. The societies of his charge had his first care; and, if he had been absent from them for a few weeks, he had made those arrangements to meet the wants of the people at home which were satisfactory to them. At this time he stood at the head of the Universalist clergy in the United States, as a preacher. He was thirty-eight years of age; he spoke always without notes in the pulpit, and always had something to say. The book which he studied more than any other was the Bible, without the aid of commentaries; for, although he would not have declined these, yet they were not easily found in the places where he had resided. But he was not so much a *reader* as a *thinker*. His mind was active; and this activity showed itself in deep thought, broken by short intervals of rest, recreation and social enjoyment. His pen was like a two-edged sword. It had a wondrous power. His opponents, especially the clergy, affected to treat him, at times, with derision; but they were obliged to respect him for the rectitude of his life, for his humility, charity and benevolence. His aim was to comply with the precept of the prophet; namely, "to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly before God." This was the practical part of his religion; and, in his opinion, *such* a religion was better than all burnt-offerings and sacrifices; better than empty professions and forms; better than saying "Lord, Lord," without doing the will of God. The partialist clergy stigmatized him as being illiterate. That he had not been trained in

the schools, was true; but this was his misfortune, not his fault. His father was a poor Baptist clergyman,—a good man, but despised by the dominant clergy; for the Baptists were much despised by their opponents in those days. He received very little for his labors as a preacher, and was obliged to support his family, at least in part, by carrying on a farm. How, then, could he give his children a collegiate education? They could scarcely get three months' schooling in a year at the common schools of Richmond; and the schools must have been, in that day, of the humblest character. Under these circumstances, the son, in his youth, picked up what little of the rudiments of learning he could get. He learned to write, to read, to spell, to illustrate some of the primary principles of arithmetic on a slate, when he could get hold of one, and, in the absence of it, upon a piece of board, or a strip of birch bark. When arrived at manhood, or nearly so, he had a few months' instruction at an academy, at which he added to his former little stock of knowledge some conception of the first principles of grammar, history and astronomy. He had no opportunity to cultivate a fine style of writing, nor to improve his taste by the reading of books on theology or belles-lettres. His mind was of a logical cast; and he was impelled rather by his natural inclination to *find out* truths, and express them so as to be *understood*, than to cultivate a taste for fine writing. Such a man, having a strong love of dogmatical theology, would become "mighty in the scriptures;" he would be a powerful man in argument; dangerous to contend with; one that could not be deceived by the outward appearance of

things, but who would turn the religious systems of human invention upside down. This man had risen regularly in the estimation of his brethren. He had had no desire to be the greatest, and had never aimed at such an object; but had pursued only one purpose, namely, to do his duty, and to employ all his time, and what talent he possessed, for the advancement of the truth, the glory of God, and the benefit of his fellow-men. We have said that the clergy of the standing order affected to despise him; they represented him as illiterate, and below their notice. But, if he was below *their* notice, he was not below the notice of the people at large; he was exercising a great influence, and was drawing the people away very fast from attachment to all that was false in Calvinism. If the question had been, who is best acquainted with the laws of style, Mr. Ballou would have yielded the palm, at once, to some of his clerical neighbors, who had been educated at the colleges of New England; but, on the theological question proposed by Pilate to Jesus, "What is *truth*?" he was second to no man. He was ever ready to enter into an investigation with any; he would be all alive with attention; the *antennæ* of his mind would be all erect; truth, religious truth, was the great object of his search. It was very rare that any of the clergy would enter into controversy with him. They would denounce him and his doctrines when they could not be met; but in his presence, and on occasions when he could reply, they would seldom say anything.

When it was known in Barnard and vicinity that Mr. Ballou was about to remove to a distance, there

was undoubtedly much joy among those who were not Universalists; and yet, that they might not betray their fear of his influence as a preacher, they sought to conceal it. A slight circumstance created no small satisfaction among the Universalists at the time. Good old Dea. Lawton, of the Calvinistic society in Barnard, had a daughter-in-law who was a Universalist, and who had attended, whenever she could, upon Mr. Ballou's ministry. The deacon had been out among his neighbors one day, and had heard the joyful news that Mr. Ballou was about to remove from town. On sitting down to dinner, he sought to conceal his real feelings by saying, "I have just heard that Mr. *Balleuw* (as he used to pronounce the name) is going to move out of town; I feel very sorry, for I am afraid *we shall have the devil here next.*" His daughter-in-law pleasantly rejoined, "Why, father, do you think Mr. Ballou is the only man who can keep *the devil out of this town?*" The old man sighed, but made no further conversation on the subject.

SECTION XXXVIII. — CONVENTION OF 1809.

The General Convention of 1809 met at the residence of Mr. Ballou, in Barnard. Father Barnes, from Maine, was present, and was elected Moderator, and Mr. Ballou was elected clerk. The session being holden in the place in which he lived, he did not preach; but he delivered the Scriptures and gave the charge to two brethren who were ordained, namely, Timothy Bigelow and Nathan Smith. The session was a very happy one. It was said in the circular of this year:

"Brethren, we have great encouragement; the Lord of the harvest is answering our prayers, in sending more laborers into his vineyard; and the reports which we hear from the various parts of the country are as the sound of the abundance of rain. Our meeting has been a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. While the hidden manna fell round about the camp, the dew of Hermon, and the dews which descend on the mountains of Zion, refreshed the lily of the valley. Springs of living water gushed forth from the thirsty land, and streams in the desert, while we experienced how good and how pleasant it is to dwell together in unity."

Such was the session of 1809. Mr. Ballou reported that he had been unable to attend the meeting of the Western Association,—an arduous duty, he had not neglected for the three previous years.* He also informed his brethren that he was about to leave the dear and pleasant scenes in Vermont, in the midst of which he had resided since February 1803. It was a severe blow to the Universalists of Barnard and vicinity; but they submitted with a good grace, because they believed that their loss would be a public gain. The seed which he had planted was flourishing in the green fields all around

* Mr. Stacy says: "The fourth session of our Association (1809) was holden in Norwich, Chenango county. Mr. Dean and Mr. Carrique attended as a delegation from the General Convention; and the three preachers in the state — Mr. Ferris, Mr. Babbit, and myself — were present, making the formidable number of five! Mr. Ballou was again on the committee, but, being about this time, I believe, making arrangements to remove from Barnard, Vermont, to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he could not well attend. It was a disappointment to many expecting friends; but, notwithstanding, we enjoyed a happy and profitable season. Our meeting for public worship was holden in the court-house, and a vast concourse of people, for those days, assembled."—*Memoirs*, p. 202.

them; and, as the time had come, in the order of Providence, when he must go to another section of the Lord's vineyard, where the wants of an increasing family would be more largely ministered unto, they did not complain of any unfairness on his part, or on that of the society in Portsmouth, N. H., which had invited him. The Convention approved the removal, and voted thanks to Mr. Ballou and the two societies for the peaceable manner in which the arrangement had been made.*

* Extract from the doings of the General Convention, at Barnard, Vt., 1809.

"The communication from the church and society at Portsmouth, N. H., to the united societies of Barnard and Woodstock, Vt., requesting their consent to the removal of Br. Hosea Ballou to Portsmouth, together with the answer of said societies, in which they consent to the wished-for removal, being laid before the General Convention, and duly considered as a mutual agreement between all parties, on the purest principles of gospel liberty,

"*Voted*, That the approbation of this Convention be signified to the public, and our thanks rendered to said societies, for the sacrifice which they have made of personal feelings for the general good of the cause."
— *Manuscript Records*.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. BALLOU'S MINISTRY IN PORTSMOUTH, N. H., AND OTHER LABORS DURING HIS RESIDENCE THERE.

SECTION I. — THE SOCIETY IN PORTSMOUTH.

MR. BALLOU was now about to remove into his native state; not, however, into the quiet town in which he was born, but to Portsmouth, the largest town, and almost the only commercial one, in the state. Universalism had been first taught here by Mr. Murray, during his early travels in New England. On the formation of a society, Mr. Noah Parker became their preacher, — a convert to Mr. Murray's opinions, a man who had won great respect by the purity of his life, and who continued the pastor until August 1787, when he died. From this time until 1793, the society was without a pastor. In the latter year, a petition was presented to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, which was granted, and a movement was made at once to put the society on a firmer basis. The minds of the members turned to Rev. George Richards, of Boston, as a suitable person to be their pastor. He had been an eminent school-teacher, and a member of the First Universalist Society in that town, but had occasionally preached, and had had the charge of the

pulpit there whenever Mr. Murray (then settled at Gloucester) was not in town. But, on the removal of Mr. Murray to Boston, in 1793, and his installation as pastor there, Mr. Richards found himself at liberty to settle permanently at some other place. Thus, circumstances seem to have released him from his informal pastorship in Boston, at nearly the precise moment when the brethren in Portsmouth desired his services. This was near the close of 1793, and his connection with the society continued until the summer of 1809 (about sixteen years), when he removed to Philadelphia.

SECTION II. — MR. BALLOU IS INVITED TO PORTSMOUTH.

Mr. Ballou, at this time, was living in great peace with the united societies in Vermont, of which he was pastor. No root of bitterness had ever sprung up among them. He and they were of one heart and one mind. The society in Portsmouth, by their standing committee, had invited him to preach for two or three Sabbaths, as their pulpit was vacant. He did not go down to that town because he coveted a new field of labor. He was contented where he lived. But it was very difficult for him to hear the call "come over and help us," without giving an affirmative response. He went therefore to Portsmouth, and preached for several Sabbaths. The result was just what might have been expected; the whole society was at once seized with a desire to obtain him as their pastor. Dull members were quickened into life, absentees from church came out again; the people said one to another, concerning the doctrine they heard, "This

is the bread of life." At a society meeting on August 17th, they passed the following vote :

"The Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Barnard, Vermont, having, at the request of the committee, visited and preached to the society several Sabbaths, and the society being pleased with him as a preacher, and feeling desirous of settling him as their minister :

"*Voted*, That the wardens and committee be and hereby are authorized and requested to write to Mr. Ballou, and offer him the sum of eight hundred dollars per year, together with the contribution money, as an inducement for him to settle with us as our minister ; the expenses of removing his family, &c., from Barnard to this place, to be paid by the society."

On receiving this call, he pondered the matter well. The question with him was, Is it my duty to go ? He had no such idea of the pastoral office as to lead him to suppose it could not be vacated, if he could do more good to the cause by the change of places. He felt that a settled clergyman should not remove for any insufficient reason. Tender ties should not be broken for slight causes. When he consecrated himself to the ministry, he felt he had followed the command of his Master. He was at first qualified, as he thought, for an itinerant only ; and he served the cause in that capacity. Afterward, as he had more experience, he felt that he might properly become a pastor, and preach steadily to several societies ; and he accordingly did so. When he removed from Dana to Barnard, he believed his usefulness would be increased ; it was like going to break up the fallow ground on a new location. The Master called, and he cheerfully obeyed. But now he had a different case to settle. He had never been the pastor of a single society,

nor preached all the time in one place. In the beginning of his ministry, he would not have thought himself qualified to go into a populous town, and take the charge of a large society. God, by preparing him successively for different stations, perhaps had purposed his removal. His inquiry, like Paul's, was, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" He weighed the matter well; and the result is stated in the following answer. It was such an answer as a Christian minister might return.

"TO THE UNIVERSALIAN SOCIETY IN PORTSMOUTH.

"DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST :

"With deep concern I have taken into consideration your friendly call, — bearing date August 21st, 1809, — for my settlement with you in the ministry. Many and important have been the objections to my removal from those united societies with which I have been happily connected almost seven years, without experiencing the smallest disaffection, either with the body at large, or even an individual. But such are the ways of Divine Providence and grace, that human wisdom seems to have nothing to do but submit to the economy and wisdom of God. It having pleased the great Head of the Church to put it into the hearts of my friends in Vermont to grant *their consent* to your request, as you have seen by their answer, it devolves on me to decide the main question, whether I consent to your invitation. From the first of my having this subject under consideration, I have considered it of that importance which rendered it necessary to watch with profound attention whatever might transpire, in divine Providence, to assist in a correct decision. In this way I have come to the conclusion that the call from the society is a call from my Divine Master; and, in obedience to him, I joyfully accept it. Although I am sensible that my cares will be enlarged by it, yet I pray God that his grace may be sufficient for me.

"Yours, in Christian love,

"HOSEA BALLOU."

Having returned this answer, he waited only to attend the session of the General Convention, which was then about to meet in Barnard, after which he removed to Portsmouth.

The society there had, the year previous, left their old meeting-house, and built a much larger one, upon Pleasant-street. In this house he was installed, on the 8th of November, 1809. The sermon on the occasion was preached by his brother and friend, Rev. Edward Turner, of Salem, from 2 Timothy 1: 1st of 8,—“Be not thou therefore ashamed of the testimony of the Lord.”

SECTION III. — FIRST EFFORTS AT PORTSMOUTH.

Among the early duties he had to perform was the bringing out of the “Candid Review,” which we have noticed in the preceding chapter, and which he probably brought with him in manuscript from Vermont. On the title-page he describes himself as of Portsmouth, N. H., author of “Notes on the Parables,” “Treatise on Atonement,” &c. He gave himself with diligence also to the work of the ministry, preaching twice every Sabbath, and frequently three times. The congregation increased greatly; so much so as to excite the attention of the clergy of the contrary faith in the town. It was Mr. Ballou’s desire to treat them with great politeness, as well as with Christian charity; but he could not make a sacrifice of truth for the purpose of pleasing any person. In looking at the wants of his flock, he felt that something was necessary for the use of the children; and he

prepared and caused to be printed the "Scriptural Catechism," to aid them in coming to the knowledge of divine truth, and to stimulate the parents to neglect not the religious needs of their offspring. He was a strong opponent of all creeds that are couched in the words which man's wisdom teacheth. He was willing the children should have a catechism, but the parts for them to commit to memory must be given entirely in the language of the Scriptures. He knew the embarrassments he had suffered in his youth, from the influence of creeds, impressed upon his mind by his affectionate father, who truly believed them, and who supposed he was doing his son a very essential service by bringing him to believe them also. He knew there was a system of divine truth in the Bible; he knew the knowledge of it was necessary to the happiness of man; he knew that children should be brought, by gentle culture, to understand and believe it; but he was fearful of the influence of man-made creeds. In framing a catechism, therefore, he chose for the answers to his questions the language of the word of God alone. The effect of this arrangement was that the answers were not direct, or at least would not appear so to the child. The author saw, in all cases, how the answer applied to the question; but in some cases it was difficult for a child to see this without a competent teacher. For the reason here stated, the little work never came into general use. There were some, however, who preferred it to any form of Christian faith put forth as a catechism.

SECTION IV. — CORRESPONDENCE WITH BUCKMINSTER.

There was a settled pastor in Portsmouth at this time, of long standing in the town, rigidly Calvinistic in his principles, who felt a desire to warn Mr. Ballou to depart from the error of his ways. We refer to Rev. Joseph Buckminster, the father of Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, pastor of the Brattle-street church, in Boston. The son was one of the most popular clergymen that had ever been settled in that town. Though the father was a Calvinist, the son inclined to Unitarianism; and, had he lived until the separation between the two parties of the Congregationalists, he would unquestionably have joined the ranks with Channing, Thacher, and others of their opinions. The elder Buckminster was the son of a Puritan clergyman, and of a Puritan clergyman's daughter, and was born in Rutland, Massachusetts, in 1751. He was educated at Yale College, where he passed through one of those terrible seasons of excitement called revivals of religion, that impressed-Calvinism much more deeply upon his mind, filling his susceptible nature with gloom, which, although mitigated at times, he never outlived. He was settled in Portsmouth in 1779, and died in 1812. He never was anything but a Calvinist in faith; and, so far as was possible, under such a creed, he lived a Christian life. He was moved at the danger in which he saw, or thought he saw, Mr. Ballou standing. He had heard accounts of his great success, of the very large numbers of the people of Portsmouth who pressed to hear him, of the peculiar elo-

quence with which he spoke,—and he thought that the responsibility resting on such a man was absolutely fearful. Moreover, he had met him, and Mr. Ballou had called at his house, and had made a favorable impression upon his mind by the deference and respect he showed to age. He felt impelled, therefore, to address him the following epistle :

“*Portsmouth, December 28, 1809.*”

“DEAR SIR: At the close of the interview which we had at my house, some little time since, you expressed a wish to live in habits of friendship with the ministers of this town; and I think I expressed a hope that I should be always disposed to treat you and all men with those fruits of benevolence and friendship which the law of our common nature and the spirit and principles of the Christian religion demand of me. With this profession, without its fruits, my conscience is not satisfied. It was neither friendship nor piety that dictated that early question, ‘*Am I my brother’s keeper?*’ There is a reciprocal responsibility among mankind, both for the interest of time and eternity. Were I to see you or any others exposing themselves to danger, or running into situations that I apprehend would be prejudicial and destructive, friendship would require me to warn and admonish, and endeavor to restrain; and can I support my pretensions to this principle in withholding my warning and admonition, while I am verily persuaded that the present tendency and final issue of that system of sentiments which you have embraced, and which you have come among us to advocate and to support, will expose you, and those that embrace and build upon it, to danger and distress, with which no temporal calamity or ruin can bear any sort of comparison?”

“I know not what system of Universalism you have embraced or advocate, nor is it of any material consequence in my view; I presume I do not mistake or injure you in supposing that you publicly preach and advocate the final salvation of all mankind, their restoration and association with Jesus Christ in realms of

glory. Whatever human ingenuity, or plausible and sophistic reasoning, may do with respect to either of these systems, they each and all of them are, in my view, destitute of divine authority, and have not a 'thus saith the Lord' for their support.

"There may be some little difference in the present tendency and effect of these different systems upon the present conduct of men, and so upon the interest of society; but in their general influence, and in their final results, they meet in the same point, and will be attended with the same dreadful consequences. They are neither of them true, and so can have no effect in quickening into life or sanctifying the soul, for it is the *spirit* that *quickeneth*, and the *truth* that *sanctifieth*; they may exhilarate, please, and produce triumph; but it will be a triumphing that is short, and a joy that is but for a moment; for God, to my apprehension, has been so far from giving any countenance to either of those systems, that he hath long ago pronounced them false, and their tendency destructive. These are his words: '*Because with lies ye have made the hearts of the righteous sad, whom I have not made sad, and strengthened the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way, by promising him life.*' But it is not my intention to enter into a dispute upon this subject, neither to enlarge upon arguments to support my own sentiments, nor to disprove yours; I have no apprehension that any good would result from it; it would be a tax upon time that might be better employed.

"When persons have adopted a system and are engaged in its support, when the pride of peculiarity or the influence of party views are enlisted as auxiliaries, there is little ground to hope for a conviction of its errors by formal disputation, however temperately conducted; nothing will effect a change of views and feelings but that '*still small voice*' which induced the prophet to wrap his face in his mantle. This voice is more likely to attend our calm, retired reflections, than the perusal of arguments that tend to disprove what we have been accustomed to advocate and support.

"The object of this letter is not to revile, to censure, nor dispute; but, in friendship and affection, to entreat you to reflect

and consider the consequences to yourself and others of that system of sentiments which you are advocating,—anticipate the day of judgment, and realize yourself called upon to give an account of your stewardship. I am not disposed, my dear sir, to impeach your sincerity and honesty. I know how far men may be deluded and deceived. I am disposed to believe that you conscientiously think the sentiments you advocate are true. But remember, dear sir, this does not make them true, nor secure you from the dreadful consequences in which they may issue. With all this moral sincerity and uprightness, if you cease to warn the wicked, that he turn from his wicked way (and how can this be more effectually done than by leading him to expect final, everlasting happiness?), his blood will be required at your hands. The apostle Paul most conscientiously persecuted the Christians. and declared to the council before whom he was arraigned that he had lived in all good conscience before God till that day. He verily thought he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth; yet his persuasion did not acquit him from guilt, nor would it have shielded him from destruction, had he not been renewed to repentance and faith in Christ, while as yet Christ was in the way with him. Christ said to his disciples, ‘The time will come when whosoever killeth you will think he doth God’s service;’ and he has added, ‘Many will say unto me, in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name, and in thy name cast out devils, and in thy name done many wonderful works? Then will I profess unto them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity.’ What must be your situation in the day of retribution, if the system you advocate should, in final evidence, prove false?—of which I have not the least shadow of doubt upon my mind, and therefore have all the forebodings for my erring and deceived fellow-mortals which may be supposed to be the result of such conviction. I cannot cease to warn and to entreat you to consider,—friendship forbids my withholding the voice of warning and adjuration; and both duty and respect to my own safety require me to endeavor to save you from the issue, of which I have such awful forebodings. We must both stand before the Son of man, and

each one must give an account of himself and of his stewardship to God. From our connection here, there will probably be some interest in each other in that day; and I cannot bear the thought of your being able to say, when the scheme of Universalism shall all vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision, and all the hopes built upon it will be like the spider's web, and like the giving up of the ghost, — that you should be able to say I never warned you of this issue, nor admonished you of your danger.

“ I know not with what sentiments you will receive this address, nor what use you may make of it; my concern is with the sentiments and spirit that dictate it. I think they are such as will induce me continually to pray that you may not pierce yourself through with many sorrows, nor be left to mourn at the last.

Your friend and humble servant,

J. BUCKMINSTER.” *

But a few days passed before Mr. Ballou responded. He acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Buckminster's “ affectionate friendly address,” and proceeded to notice several of the points in it. Mr. Buckminster had said that he wished to “ treat all men with those fruits of benevolence and friendship which the law of our common nature, and the spirit and principles of the Christian religion, demand.” Mr. Ballou replied that, as his correspondent's friendship was founded on such principles, it would undoubtedly remain so long as those principles remained in his heart. If there existed among mankind a recipro-

* See Series of Letters, pp. 3—10. — The whole title was “ A Series of Letters between Rev. Joseph Buckminster, D.D., the Rev. Joseph Walton, A.M., pastor of Congregational Churches in Portsmouth, N. H., and the Rev. Hosea Ballou, author of ‘ Notes on the Parables,’ ‘ Treatise on Atonement,’ ‘ A Candid Review,’ the ‘ Child's Scriptural Catechism,’ &c., pastor of the Universalist Church and Society in said Portsmouth. Windsor, Vt. 1811.”

cal responsibility in regard to their eternal interest, then this responsibility must be eternal. There could come no time, unless eternal principles could change, when the responsibility would not exist. Mr. Ballou then turned from the friendship of Mr. Buckminster, to reason concerning the friendship of God :

“ On observing your admonitions, and believing you sincere in them, I am led to say that, had I such a friend as you are, who possessed the means for making me eternally happy, I might entertain no doubt of obtaining the inestimable enjoyment ; nor do I view you, sir, less a friend because you do not possess a power which is equal to the putting of all your friendly desires into full execution, but will acknowledge you my worthy friend, and accept the warnings which you give me against the system of doctrine which, as you say, I have embraced and come among this people to advocate, as a token of that friendship which would, if connected with suitable power, place me out of all final danger, or which would cause you to rejoice exceedingly had you the evidence to believe that one who has such power possesses even stronger desires for my eternal welfare than you do.” *

Mr. Ballou then proceeded further to say :

“ You inform me that you do not know what system of Universalism I have embraced. Permit me, sir, to inform you, though you do not request it, that I have embraced the system of Universalism which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob embraced, in believing God, who said, ‘ In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed ; and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.’ If this faith of Abraham were imputed to him for righteousness, it must be a true faith ; and, if true, worthy to be embraced by all nations and families of the earth,

* Series of Letters, p. 16.

without the exception of an individual. Permit me further to observe that I disclaim all authors as divine guides, except the divine author of those scriptures which cannot be broken.

"You rightly apprehend me in supposing that I believe and teach that all mankind will be saved, restored and associated with Christ Jesus in realms of glory; but I do not believe, as you intimate, that human ingenuity, or plausible and sophistic reasoning, are necessary to the support of this doctrine among men; nor will I attempt to say how sorry I am that you should declare the doctrine not true until you had produced a '*Thus saith the Lord*' to prove it false; or that you should intimate that I am employing human ingenuity, or plausible and sophistic reasoning, to support the universal benevolence of God, until the disagreeable circumstance should transpire in which I might be justly thus charged. Although, in order to please myself, I might explain your meaning as directed against some others of the advocates of the heavenly gospel of universal salvation, I could find but little satisfaction in thus endeavoring to avoid any reproach which is directed against the true disciples of my divine Master.

"You inform me that, as universal salvation is not true, 'it can have no effect in quickening into life, or in sanctifying the soul; for it is the Spirit that quickeneth, and the truth which sanctifies.' If, dear sir, you do not believe that the spirit of salvation quickeneth into life, would it not have been proper to inform me what spirit does? And I should have highly esteemed an illustration of the evidence which you have that the truth *that mankind will remain eternally unsanctified* will sanctify the soul! I fully believe that, as far as any proposition is capable of being proved from the written word, or of being demonstrated by logical reasoning from acknowledged facts, the doctrine of the salvation of all men is capable of being proved, and substantially maintained. Does it require human ingenuity, or plausible and sophistic reasoning, to make it appear from the Scriptures that Jesus Christ, by the grace of God, tasted death for every man? that he gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time? that he is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world? that it is the will of God that all men should be saved and come to

the knowledge of the truth? that he worketh all things after the counsel of his own will? Does it require this ingenuity, etc., to substantiate from the written word that the promise to Abraham will be fulfilled, and that all nations whom God hath made shall come and worship before him, and glorify his name? that Jesus will, in the fulness of time, reconcile all things unto himself, whether they be things in heaven, or things on earth, or things under the earth? that he will gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him? If it be an acknowledged fact that God will bless all the families of the earth in Christ, — that all nations which God hath made shall come and worship before him and glorify his name, — that Jesus gave himself a ransom for all men, to be testified in due time, — that he did, by the grace of God, taste death for every man, — that he will have all men to be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, — that he hath made known the mystery of his will according to his good pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself, — that, in the dispensation of the fulness of times, he would gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth, and that he worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, — then the doctrine of the salvation of all men is as fully acknowledged as language can possibly express, or my error lies in not understanding the force of words and sentences.”*

Before closing his letter, Mr. Ballou further said :

“In your truly affecting entreaty, you direct my mind to the day of judgment, when I am called to give an account of my stewardship; and ask what my situation must be, if the system I advocate should, in final evidence, prove false. I have seriously thought on this question; and this is my conclusion: My judge will know that I am, in this instance, honest and sincere; he will know how hardly I wrestled against his written word, in order to avoid believing that he would save all men; and he will

* Series of Letters, pp. 17—21.

know that my deception was in understanding his word as a simple, honest man would understand a plain testimony void of scholastic dress. In this case I am willing to throw myself on the mercy of the judge. On the other hand, dear sir, I have made a calculation too. Suppose I adhere to your testimony, that the doctrine I believe is not true, and abandon it as a heresy, preach it down to the utmost of my ability, and the doctrine at last, when you and I stand before that judge who knows the hearts of all men, should, in final evidence of the law and prophets, prove true, of which I have not the least shadow of doubt in my mind, with what a blush must I give up my account! My judge, who has suffered everything for me, asks me, Why did you deny me, forsake my cause, and use the abilities which I gave you to preach that dishonorable doctrine, that I did not redeem all men, or that I would not finally reconcile all men to myself, and cause them all to love me heartily in bliss and glory? I, abashed beyond description, must answer, A man who I conceived was my friend, and who preached that God my Saviour never intended to save all men, told me the doctrine I preached was *not true*! O, how would my soul thrill with grief when a look such as was cast on Peter, after he denied his Lord, should accompany this question, And who told you in the first place it was true?

"I appeal to the Searcher of hearts for the sincerity of my soul when I say, my dear sir, I feel an uncommon desire to cultivate friendship with you; and, were it possible for me to gratify you in anything that should be consistent with my duty to my God, I think I should not shrink from the service; but, should the multitude whose hearts have been made joyful in believing in the salvation of all men become so blinded as to renounce the sentiments, I must remain unshaken until more than human testimony stands against the doctrine."*

Mr. Buckminster attempted no reply to the doctrinal points in Mr. Ballou's letter. He indeed wrote again;

* Series of Letters, pp. 25—27.

but it was only to acknowledge its receipt, and to say that he had written merely to warn Mr. Ballou of the danger in which he stood ; as if it were more proper to give heed to a warning from a mere man on earth, than to the promise and covenant of the living God. Mr. Buckminster further avowed that his main object was to clear the skirts of his garments from the blood of souls ; showing, after all, that *selfishness* was mingled with his benevolence.

“ My object was,” said he, “ to fulfil a duty which I owe to myself, and to Him who has set me here to be a watchman, that I might use every precaution to appear before my Judge at last with unstained garments, preclude an occasion for a crimination and reproach, and give up my account with-joy and not with grief.”

Mr. Ballou replied with great respect, and one or two other notes passed between the parties ; but here the correspondence was, in substance, ended.*

SECTION V. — HIS TEACHINGS FROM THE PULPIT.

Mr. Ballou went on with his regular duties as a parish

* Mr. Buckminster died on June 10th, 1812, the very next day (remarkable as it may seem) after the death of his son, in Boston. The father had a presentiment of the son's death. His mind perhaps was a little unbalanced ; he had seasons of great depression of spirits. The young Mr. Buckminster died on Tuesday, June 9th. The father, journeying at the time in Vermont, said, the next morning, when he could not possibly have received any intelligence (for there were no rail-roads or telegraphic wires in those days), “ My son Joseph is dead ! ” He was told he must have dreamed. “ No,” said he, “ I have not dreamed, I have not slept ; he is dead ! ” These were almost the father's last words. Sacred be the closing scene !

clergyman, without any desire to molest or hinder any other pastor in his proper work. He preached freely in the pulpit, and pointed out, as he was wont to do, what he regarded as errors in the creeds of men. He declared also the love of God, as manifested in Christ Jesus; and urged his hearers to remember that, if God so loved them, they ought also to love one another. He urged them to cherish trust and filial confidence in God, as the sovereign Ruler of the universe, who was training men, by all the dispensations of his providence, for a high and holy destiny. He urged them to be on their guard against the seductive influence of human passions and appetites; and assured them of their responsibility for wrong-doing, which, if persisted in, would plunge them into many sorrows. He described the beauties and the bliss of virtue. "Wisdom's ways," he would say to the young, "are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace." "You will not have to wait for your reward; you will find the path beautiful from the moment you begin to walk in it. Religion, true religion, will bring to you the most substantial enjoyments. It is as useful to the young as to the old." He exhorted them to study the Scriptures, which would make them wise unto salvation, through faith in Christ Jesus. He sought to explain to them those parts of the Bible which were generally misunderstood, especially such as were used to support false systems of theology. He urged them to be on their guard against errors that must necessarily alienate their affections from the God whom it was their duty to love. The love of God was, in his sight, the fountain of all purity; and where that love was not

known there could be no pure religion. He attended strictly to his duties as pastor, visiting the sick, and pouring the oil of consolation into the bleeding hearts of mourners. In one sense it was an unfavorable time for a clergyman to succeed in impressing the precepts of the gospel upon the people, for it was a time of great political excitement. Two great parties divided the whole country, and the question of war with Great Britain was discussed with more and more earnestness every day. Mr. Ballou had members of both these parties in his congregation. They mingled as Christians in the house of God, but it is by no means certain that they divested themselves entirely of their political enmities when they went there.

SECTION VI. — TEACHES A SCHOOL.

In addition to his duties as a pastor, Mr. Ballou also had those of a teacher, and of the head of a family. He had long been accustomed to teaching the young the elementary principles of the sciences taught in academies. It was by no means uncommon for clergymen to engage in such employment; as it served to lighten the burden of their societies in providing for the support of their families, and also supplied by individual exertions the wants of the community which are now provided for so fully by the greater number and higher character of our common schools. Mr. B.'s family gave him little anxiety. His faithful wife, almost always at home, always clear-sighted, always industrious, always setting examples of patience and kindness to her children, saved him much

of the watchfulness and care that oftentimes fall upon fathers. So passed his time.

SECTION VII. — CONTROVERSY WITH REV. J. WALTON.

Towards the close of the year 1810, another of the clergymen in Portsmouth saw fit to address him. This was the Rev. Joseph Walton, an old man, pastor of the Third Congregational, or Independent Church. He had been present at two funerals at which Mr. Ballou officiated, and felt startled at certain doctrines which he had heard advanced, and at the omission of certain things which he thought were very important to be uttered on such an occasion. Whether he knew that his neighbor Buckminster had addressed Mr. Ballou, we are not able to say. Mr. Walton, we should judge, was a conscientious, good man, whose mental horizon was bounded almost entirely by his creed. He felt it his duty to attempt to convince Mr. Ballou of his errors, and to admonish him of his supposed danger; and he accordingly addressed him an epistle, dated Nov. 19, 1810, from which we make the following extracts:

“ Portsmouth, Nov. 19, 1810.

“DEAR FRIEND: I take this method to write to you, with a desire you would receive it as a friendly admonition. You recollect, no doubt, that I have heard you make two speeches at funerals, as they are commonly called, — one at the grave, and the other at the house of sorrow and mourning, upon a very solemn and singular occasion. At the grave you were short, and said, if I mistake not, viewing the grave, ‘This is the house appointed for all living,’ two or three times; and then said, ‘What reflection shall we make from it! Is it done by an enemy? Has the Almighty

suffered the government to be taken out of his hands?—and spake as if death was originally designed by the Almighty for the good of mankind, and made it a very desirable thing. My dear sir, doth not the Bible, which is the word of God, or the scriptures of truth, say, ‘Wherefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned,’—Rom. 5: 12; and Rom. 6: 23, ‘For the wages of sin is death’? God, who is a gracious and holy Sovereign, ‘made man upright, but he sought out many inventions.’ By listening unto that apostate spirit, Satan, he transgressed and disobeyed his Maker and Sovereign, by eating the forbidden fruit. ‘God made man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them. And the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and keep it; and the Lord God commanded the man, saying, Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.’—Gen. 2: 15—17. Sin is that enemy that introduced or was the cause of death, as we may further see by considering that portion of scripture, 1 John, 3: 8,—‘He that committeth sin is of the devil, for the devil sinneth from the beginning.’ ‘For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.’ Sin is the work of the devil; ‘the soul that sins shall die.’ If you will read the whole chapter, and seriously consider it, and pray to God through Jesus Christ to open your understanding, that you may understand the Scriptures, you would not misapply and pervert them as I fear you do.”*

* * * * *

Again, he says:

“I do not remember that you, at either place, spake one word of the necessity or nature of repentance. Christ began his personal and public ministry by preaching repentance, saying, ‘Re-

* Series, &c., pp. 44—46.

pent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand ;'— again, ' but except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish,'— Luke 13 : 5. And after his resurrection from the dead he appeared to his disciples and confirmed them in the certainty of it, and chose them witnesses of the truth of it, and said, ' Thus is it written, and thus it becometh Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day. And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in my name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And ye are witnesses of these things.'— Luke 24 : 46, 47, 48." *

* * * * *

" As you did not say anything about the resurrection of the dead in either of your speeches, I began to query in my mind whether you believed it or no. I think, yea, I know it was preached by Christ, and explained so as to confute the Sadducees. Our Lord says, ' Marvel not at this, for the hour is coming in the which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth ; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of damnation.' St. Paul, in his defence before the Roman governor, when accused by an orator whom the Jews employed, as he was allowed to speak for himself, said, ' They cannot prove the thing whereof they now accuse me ; but this I confess, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets ; and have hope towards God, which they themselves also allow ; that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, both of the just and unjust ; and herein do I exercise myself to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.' We may observe what an influence the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments had on the blessed apostle, to excite him to live a godly and self-denying life. In 2 Cor. 5 : 10, 11, speaking of a day of judgment, ' when every one must give an account for himself as the deeds have been done in the body, that every one may receive the things done in his body according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad,' he says, ' knowing the terror

* Series, pp. 47, 48.

of the Lord, we persuade men.' My friend, is there the least room for us to believe, from this scripture and many others, that the wicked who have died impenitent, and in a disbelief of the gospel, or without the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, whom God hath sent, have eternal life, in the fruition and enjoyment of God? Heaven consists in being made like God, and enjoying him: hence it is that the pious thirst for God, the living God, saying, 'When shall I come and appear before him?' Again, 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth I desire besides thee. My flesh and heart fail me, but God is the strength of my heart and portion forever.' These pious breathings are the exercises of the children of God. O, may they be ours!

JOSEPH WALTON."*

In a subsequent note, appended to the letter given above, Mr. Walton confesses the amiable treatment he had received from Mr. Ballou, and the success which was apparently attending his ministry in Portsmouth. There is no doubt that his labors exercised a wide influence in that town. See the note referred to:

" *Portsmouth, Nov. 19, 1810.*

"P. S.—The within, enclosed, my friend, I can assure you was not written to you in this manner, as God is my judge, from an envious and bitter spirit; for I love and esteem your person, as a friend, who has, from my first acquaintance with you, treated me with great respect. I see, on the Lord's days, great numbers of precious souls going and returning from your meeting; and, as far as I know my own heart, I do not envy you for that, but have often prayed that the gifts and natural abilities you have might be sanctified and turned into right improvements, which is the glory of God and the saving benefit of your hearers. May it please God to make you an able and faithful minister of the New Testa-

* Series, &c., pp. 53—56.

ment; not of the letter, but of the spirit,—for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

“ From your friend and humble servant,

“ JOSEPH WALTON,

“ *Pastor of the Independent Congregational Church in Portsmouth.*

“ *To MR. HOSEA BALLOU, Pastor of the Universal Church and Society in Portsmouth.*” *

Mr. Ballou, of course, would not permit himself to receive such a letter without replying to it. He knew the respect he owed to age; but he knew, also, the respect he owed to the word of God. He had not interfered at all with Mr. Walton; and, on the occasions referred to, Mr. W. was present, *voluntarily*, at funerals at which Mr. Ballou officiated. Mr. B. did not feel himself aggrieved by Mr. W. calling him to account for the doctrines he had uttered; for he was ready at any time to give an answer to every man who asked a reason of the hope that was in him. It is well to understand, therefore, that, although Mr. B. had no objections to the controversy, it was not one of his own seeking; he was not the aggressive party; he did not put the ball in motion. After a brief and pertinent introduction, in which he acknowledged the receipt of Mr. Walton's "friendly admonition," and accepted it "as a token of friendship, and a mark of particular attention," he proceeded to reply. We shall extract the essential parts of the reply:

In reference to Mr. Walton's remarks on what Mr. Ballou had said, at the funeral, concerning death, the latter replied:

* Series, &c., pp. 56, 57.

"That God originally designed death, is one idea ; that he designed it for the *good of mankind*, is another idea. In order to do you justice, and to attach no other meaning to your communication than such as I conceive to be consistent with your real sentiments, I must suppose that you would not wish to object to the first of those ideas, as it is an item in your creed that ' God foreordained whatsoever comes to pass ; ' of course, you believe that God *originally designed death*. But, that God designed death for the *good of mankind* I do not know to be an article of your faith, and therefore may, without doing you any injustice, suppose that you believed that God originally designed death, but *not for the good of mankind* ! Here, sir, I acknowledge that my sentiment differs from yours ; and, as you have given me no reason why God should not have designed death for the *good of mankind*, I have only to consider the ' friendly admonition ' with which you oppose my idea. I would query why the idea that God should design death *for the good of mankind* renders me justly admonishable. Would the idea, should I avow it, that God designed death for the *damage of mankind* render me commendable ? So it seems ; but at this expense I cannot avoid admonition ! I would further query what interest God could have consulted which required him to design death for a *damage* to those creatures whom he made subject to death. And I think it expedient to ask how God can be justified, in the sight of his rational creatures, if the idea be once established that he designed evil against them, even before they existed.

" I feel it to be my duty, dear sir, to call on you to support this high allegation against the Father of our spirits. I would not pretend that you designed to bring an allegation against our Creator, but I am satisfied that every unprejudiced mind must see the nature of an allegation in what you are disposed to maintain. For if we say God, our Creator, designed death for the *damage of those dependent beings* whom he has made, it is giving him a character which, I believe, the wisest of men would find it difficult to justify.

" Again, if the notion be true that God designed death for the *damage of mankind*, is it not from hence evident that he was, at

the time, an enemy to mankind? Now, if God be considered an enemy to mankind even before he made them, I wish to know what reason can be given why mankind ought to love God since creation." *

Mr. B. then showed that death is not a token of God's enmity to mankind, as is evident from Rom. 8: 38, 39, "For I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord." This he regarded as a full and positive proof that neither death, nor anything else, is a token of God's enmity to mankind. Second, he showed that death was a wise appointment of God for the good of men. The death of Jesus was thus designed. This he proved clearly from the Scriptures. He showed, also, that death was included in the inventory of rich treasures which the apostle said were ours,— "Therefore let no man glory in men: for all things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours; and ye are Christ's: and Christ is God's."—1 Cor. 3: 21—23. See, also, Phil. 1: 21, — "For me to live is Christ; to die is gain."

Mr. Walton intimated that Mr. Ballou misapplied and perverted the Scriptures, as in these words:

"If you will read the whole chapter, and seriously consider it, and pray to God through Jesus Christ to open your understanding, that you may understand the Scriptures, you would not misapply and pervert them as I fear you do."

* Series, &c., pp. 59—61.

These were serious charges, and such as Mr. Walton could not possibly have known to be true. How could he possibly know that Mr. Ballou did not *seek* to understand the Scriptures, and did not *pray* to God to give him light? Mr. B. replied to these insinuations as follows :

“ Rev. Sir, Are you sufficiently acquainted with my preaching and writing on the Scriptures to warrant the propriety of the suggestion, that I am in the habit of *misapplying* and *perverting* the holy writings? Are you sufficiently acquainted with my retired studies and religious exercises to warrant the suggestion that I get along without acknowledging the wisdom of God? I humbly request you to reconsider this part of your admonition, and see if it do not wear the appearance of *judging another* who must stand or fall to his own Master. In the mean time, I wish to observe that a friendly advice to be constant in fervent supplication and prayer would be received by me as a mark of *Christian friendship and fellowship*. But I will ask you the question, if you would be willing to have me go into your desk with you, in presence of your church and congregation, and there read the whole of the above-named chapter, then in humble and solemn prayer to Almighty God, through Christ Jesus, implore a just and true understanding of his word and truth contained in that portion of his written will, and close my performance with a candid dissertation on the chapter? Grant me liberty to do this in your hearing; after which I will not object to your pointing out any *misapplication* or *perversion* which you may think you discover. By what law is a man condemned without first hearing his defence? ” *

On the subject of repentance, Mr. Ballou addressed Mr. Walton as follows :

“ Again, your admonition suggests that I did not, at either

* Series, &c., pp. 65, 66.

of the funerals where you heard me speak, offer one word on the necessity or nature of repentance. In this particular I believe you made a mistake at both places, which mistake I believe I can rectify to your recollection. In the first place, I wish to observe that I as much believe in those scriptures which speak of the necessity of repentance as I do in any part of the sacred writings. But, after all, you and I may entertain very different ideas respecting the *preaching* of repentance. The opinion that repentance is preached when a public speaker tells his congregation that their eternal salvation depends on their repentance, that eternal misery must inevitably be their doom unless they repent, is an opinion to which I have no reason to subscribe.

"*Preaching repentance*, I conceive, is *teaching* men, and giving them such divine instructions as bring their minds to discover more glorious things than the sins and carnal vanities of this world; which *teaching* produces a returning of the mind to the things of God, and his ever-blessed kingdom. The word *repent* may or may not be used in the giving of such instructions. I conceive a preacher of Jesus Christ, warmed with the spirit of eternal love, breathing forth the gracious words of truth, may successfully preach repentance as well without the use of the word *repent* as with it. At both those places of sorrow, dear sir, I endeavored to lead the mourners' minds to the consideration of *eternal things*; I endeavored to represent God, our Creator and Governor, as a friend to his creatures, and strove to the utmost of my power to fix the love, regard and confidence, of our mourning friends, on God our Creator. This you will recollect, and I cannot suppose that you believe that a person can truly believe in the divine goodness, and love his Creator as the greatest good, and put confidence in him, so as to draw consolation in the day of adversity from such confidence, and still be a stranger to true penitence.

"The many scriptures which you have judiciously quoted to prove the propriety of the doctrine of repentance are justly applied, as I conceive; and I accord with you in their use and meaning, as far as you have explained them. I would wish to be understood that whenever repentance is spoken of as a creature

act, originating in creature agency, it is represented directly contrary to the scripture sense, as expressed in Acts 5 : 31, — ‘Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a *Prince* and a *Saviour*, for to *give repentance* to Israel and forgiveness of sins.’

“From the above passage it is evident that repentance is no more dependent on creature agency than the forgiveness of sins; and the idea that repentance is a grant of divine favor is plainly expressed in Acts 11 : 18, — ‘Then hath God also, to the Gentiles, *granted repentance* unto life,’ By the above testimonies, the idea that *repentance* is a *creature condition*, on which the divine favor is bestowed, is proved erroneous.” *

Mr. B. expressed to Mr. Walton his opinion on the subject of Universalism, as follows :

“The next particular which your ‘friendly admonition’ occupies is the subject of *universal salvation*, in the following words : ‘I could not but observe with what *emphasis* you, at the grave, mentioned those selected texts of scripture which you supposed would confirm your hearers in the doctrine of universal salvation. Would Christ or the apostles preach universal salvation in one place of scripture, and in another contradict it? I believe they would not.’ In the above particular, sir, I agree with you in all which you express. I do not believe that Christ, or any of his apostles, ever contradicted the glorious doctrine which they all preached of universal salvation. And until this contradiction can be shown in their preaching, you and I have full liberty to believe in God as ‘the Saviour of all men.’ Christ gave himself a ransom for all men; tasted death for every man; is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world. He says he will draw all men unto him, and he also says that ‘him that cometh after me I will in no wise cast out.’ St. Paul says that God will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. To which testimony we might add an immense number of scriptures from the Old and New Testaments; and, as you

* Series, &c., pp. 66—69. .

agree that Christ and his apostles would not preach universal salvation in one place and contradict it in another, so you must of necessity subscribe to the *uniformity* of the scripture doctrine in the salvation of all men."*

Again, on the same subject, in another part of the letter, he said :

"Having noted the most important sections of your 'friendly admonition' in as concise a manner as was convenient, permit me, dear sir, to make a few observations on the doctrine of universal salvation, that being a subject to which you allude in your epistle, though you did not see fit to plant any particular arguments against it. This doctrine I openly profess, and preach as a doctrine which I conceive is plainly taught in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments ; a doctrine which all good men in the world desire the truth of ; a doctrine the most worthy of God of any ever published ; a doctrine the best calculated to fill the soul of the believer with love to God and to our fellow-creatures ; a doctrine which harmonizes the divine attributes, the Scriptures, and every principle of reason and good sense, in a surprising and an astonishing manner ; a doctrine more than any other calculated to allay the hurtful animosities existing in the religious world, and to produce general fellowship and brotherly love ; and, in a word, I believe it to be the only doctrine which can be supported by reason or scripture, to a mind not improperly biased by tradition. Though I am sensible of your greater experience, yet I am willing to say to a man of your piety and Christian candor that any arguments which you should see cause to lay before me, on the above subject, shall, by the blessing of God, receive an early attention and a judicious discussion."†

Mr. Walton had quoted 2 Corinthians 5: 10,—“For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ ; that every one may receive the things done in his body,

* Series, &c., pp. 69—71.

† Series, &c., pp. 73, 79.

according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad." This passage, in Mr. Ballou's opinion, fully refuted the doctrine of endless punishment for sin.

"The passage in Corinthians alluded to fully refutes the notion of *endless* rewards and punishments; for there it is stated that '*every one* may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.' Now, as this same apostle tells us that all have sinned and come short of the glory of God, if he mean that all who have sinned must be endlessly punished, he cannot mean that any of the human race will be eternally blessed according to their own works, nor yet according to the grace of God. And you, sir, cannot but see, if one sinner can be rewarded according to his works, and yet be saved by grace through faith, and that not of himself, but by the gift of God, all the sinners of Adam's race may be thus rewarded according to what they have done either *good* or *bad*, and yet be saved by grace as above." *

In referring to the large numbers that attended on Mr. Ballou's preaching, Mr. Walton had said, "I see on the Lord's day great numbers of precious souls going and returning from your meeting; and, as far as I know my own heart, I do not envy you for that," &c. To this Mr. Ballou refers in the following manner:

"The assurance you give me in your postscript, that what you wrote to me was not written in an envious spirit, is duly appreciated; nor do I much wonder that you do not envy me the numbers who attend my public ministry, while you suppose that they, with innumerable multitudes of others, are reprobated to endless sin and misery. Envy, in such a case, would be truly unaccountable! I will not say that I fully comprehend your meaning in

* Series, &c., p. 75.

calling the 'great number' who attend my meeting '*precious souls*.' Why are they precious? To whom are they precious? If you view them the objects of divine love, of course you must suppose them to be precious in God's sight; but, if not, why do you call them precious!"*

In a subsequent epistle Mr. Ballou took up other parts of Mr. Walton's communication, for he found it quite impossible to comprise all he desired to say in the limits of the first letter. Mr. Walton had said:

"For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers having itching ears; and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables. You, my friend, once professed the true faith of the gospel,—have you kept it? I think not. I fear you have apostatized from it. You are now preaching a doctrine which pleases the world, but it makes against you according to scripture. The apostle John says, in his first epistle, fourth chapter, fifth and sixth verses, 'They are of the world, therefore the world heareth them; we are of God; he that knoweth God heareth us, he that is not of God heareth not us; hereby know we the spirit of truth and the spirit of error.'"[†]

Mr. Ballou felt it his duty to reply to these charges, and to show that he had *not* apostatized from the Christian faith, nor had he renounced any doctrine of divine revelation.

"I would not, dear sir, knowingly misapply your words, nor make a use of the above quotations contrary to their most plain and evident sense, which I conceive is as follows:

"1st. The doctrine which I believed before I believed as I do

* Series, &c., pp. 76, 77.

† Series, &c., pp. 60, 61.

now is the true gospel according to the testimony of the apostle John, in his first epistle, fourth chapter, fifth and sixth verses.

"2d. That, in believing as I now do, I have apostatized from that faith, and turned unto fables.

"3d. My preaching a doctrine which pleases the world is good proof that my doctrine is not of God, and that those who hear me are justly described by the apostle as heaping to themselves teachers having itching ears.

"In the first place, I shall agree with you in the supposition that when I first made a profession of religion I believed the true gospel.

"In the second place, I shall endeavor to show that I have not apostatized from that faith; and,

"In the third place, I will attempt to show that the evidence which you think makes against me is by no means sufficient to prove that the doctrine I now believe and preach is consistent with the *lusts* of the *world*, or contrary to the true faith of the gospel.

"1st. The true faith of the gospel, as expressed in 1 John 4th, &c., is as follows,—see verses 2, 3: 'Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God; and every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God.' The apostle here states in the most simple terms the true Christian faith, and brings it into such a short compass that none can mistake him. The belief that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is the true faith, and a denial of that fact is a false faith.

"When I first professed religion, I professed to believe that 'Jesus Christ is come in the flesh;' and this I am willing to say now is the true faith of the gospel, and the only article of faith which constituted a Christian believer in the opinion of the apostles; restricting this belief, at the same time, to Jesus of Nazareth, that he was the Christ.

"2d. I as much believe now as I ever did that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh. I have as clear evidences now as I ever had that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ. These things being

facts, the conclusion is, that I have not *apostatized* from the true Christian faith.

“3d. The above faith I preach, believing and testifying that God sent his Son to be the *Saviour* of the world; and I have reason to bless God that such feeble means are at all prospered, and that, as you observe, ‘great numbers of precious souls’ adhere to the word, which I conceive is no evidence that the faith I preach is not of God, or that it is consistent with the lusts of the world. We are informed, in the word of God, that the *common people heard Christ gladly*. Who did not hear him gladly? Answer, The Scribes and Pharisees. Do you think, sir, that the common people’s hearing Christ gladly was a justifiable evidence to the Pharisees that he was not the true Messiah? When many thousands of men, women and children, flocked from their cities into desert places to hear the gracious words which proceeded from the lips of him who spake as never man spake, was it a justifiable evidence that he and his doctrine were not of God? To bring this matter, if possible, nearer home, — should you find your meeting-house crowded with hearers who expressed in their countenances an approbation of the doctrine which you preach, would it be sufficient evidence to convince you that your doctrine was not of God?” *

In reference to the charge of having apostatized from the true faith, Mr. Ballou explained himself more fully :

“I suppose the particular idea which you had in view, which constitutes in your mind an *apostasy*, is, that Jesus Christ, who was manifested in the flesh, will, pursuant to power given to him of his Father, save all men from their sins, and reconcile all things unto himself. This idea, I acknowledge, I did not see clearly when I first made a profession of a belief in Christ, but now am fully persuaded in it. However, I cannot see why the adopting of this particular idea should be called an *apostasy*.

* Series of Letters, pp. 82—86.

"I will, sir, mention some similar cases, not wishing, however, to be considered an equal subject to the personage whom I shall introduce. The apostle Peter was a believer in the true faith of the gospel, — that is, he believed that Jesus was the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus said to him, on that confession, That flesh and blood had not revealed it to him, but his Father. This belief Peter had before he believed that Christ should suffer on the cross and rise from the dead. After many trials and dreadful temptations, in which this poor, dependent brother of ours experienced the fallibility of all human strength, he was privileged with positive evidence of the resurrection of Christ from the dead. Here, I ask, was this new acquisition of Peter's faith an apostasy? Was it not an advancement? You will agree with me in this.

"Again, this same apostle, even after he was endowed with power from on high, and preached and healed in the name of Jesus, did not know that the Gentiles were fellow-heirs and of the same body, and partakers of the promises of God, in Christ, by the gospel. It was not until the angel of the Lord appeared unto Cornelius, and directed him to send for Peter, that God gave to that apostle the knowledge of the fact which he acknowledged to Cornelius, That God had showed him that he should call *no man common or unclean*. It is very evident that the apostle Peter had more extensive knowledge of the gospel of the grace of God in consequence of the vision of the sheet by the sea of Joppa than he had before; but would any real Christian, knowing all the circumstances, suppose that Peter had *apostatized* from the true faith, because he believed that millions would be benefited by Christ more than were comprehended in his former belief? While they who were of the circumcision remained ignorant of the revelation given to Peter, we find they '*contended with him, saying, Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised, and didst eat with them.*' But when Peter had '*rehearsed the matter from the beginning, and expounded it by order unto them, they held their peace and glorified God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life.*' Thus we see that the church in Jerusalem, who were of the circumcision, though believers in Christ, were,

until Peter's defence further enlightened them, ignorant of the extension of divine grace to the Gentiles through the gospel. But surely no real Christian would suppose that this enlargement of their faith in the great salvation was an *apostasy* from the true faith!

"With profound deference, sir, permit me to suggest, that, should the foregoing observations present yourself, to your own mind, in a similar situation with those of the circumcision, yet I acknowledge you a believer in Christ, a minister of his word, and a candidate for greater manifestations of that grace of God by which Jesus tasted death for every man." *

But even this, clear and full as it is, was not sufficient to satisfy Mr. Ballou's mind. He desired to leave no room for a doubt. Did ever the first teachers of Christianity require men to believe in a limited salvation? Did they ever require any one to believe in endless sin and misery? Did they ever ask of any candidate, who presented himself for their fellowship, that he should *not* believe that Jesus would save all for whom he died? On these matters let Mr. Ballou be heard:

"I believe I may venture to say that, unless the belief that *God is not the Saviour of all men* can be maintained by positive scripture as an essential article of apostolic faith, I cannot be justly *admonished* for *apostatizing* from the true faith. May I not, with great propriety, call on my reverend friend to show, if he can, that such an article of faith was ever required by Christ or his apostles as a term of Christian fellowship and charity?

"Let us look into the written word of God, and see what is there required of us to believe. See Rom. 10: 9, — 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be

* Series of Letters, pp. 87—90.

saved.' Acts 8 : 37, — 'And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God.' Mat. 10 : 32, — 'Whoever, therefore, shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven.' Luke 12 : 8, — 'Also I say unto you, whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall the Son of man also confess before the angels of God.' Not to multiply quotations, permit me to query whether there be in those passages, or in any other scripture on the same point, any intimations given that the candidate must believe that this precious Saviour will not, through the peace made by the blood of his cross, reconcile all things to God? Are you fully satisfied, dear sir, that you are authorized to *admonish*, as an *apostate*, one who confesses with his mouth the Lord Jesus, and who believes in his heart that God hath raised him from the dead? Why did not Philip demand of the eunuch a particular confession of a belief in *limited grace* and *salvation*? Was there not the same authority to require this article of faith then as there is now? If Jesus hath promised in his word that he will confess before his Father in heaven whosoever confesseth him before men, are you satisfied with the authority by which you denounce, disfellowship, and deny those little ones? The thought is truly solemn! I feel a *chill* in every vein of my body when I consider the vain traditions of a corrupted church, in which it has long been a religious habit to anathematize those who confess Christ before men, because they *cannot* believe in certain tenets never required by Christ or his apostles!

"Reverend Sir, I can say, in the sincerity of my soul, that I believe that Jesus of Nazareth is the true Christ, — I believe him to be the Son of the living God, who was delivered for our offences and was raised again for our justification. And though I feel myself the most unworthy of the subjects of salvation, yet I should be ungrateful not to acknowledge the goodness of God my Saviour. Whatever men may think or say of me, I know that my soul experiences joys unspeakable in sweet meditations on the glories and inexpressible beauties of my Redeemer; and the thought that I am owned as his child before the angels of God

is infinitely better than to receive the approbation of men who are disposed to judge without knowing the heart." *

This subject was pursued still further both by Mr. Walton and Mr. Ballou; but the subsequent letters, with the exception of the concluding one, were merely attempts to sustain positions before taken. It is not necessary that we take up room to describe them here. Mr. Walton, we have no doubt, was a man of an affectionate and benevolent heart; but he was excitable, and consequently not careful in the choice of the terms which he sometimes used. At the close, when Mr. W. had made his last communication, and a reply to it had followed, and the controversy seemed to be ended, Mr. Ballou reflected upon the matter very deeply. He seems to have made it the subject of prayerful consideration. He felt his accountability; he felt what was due to his professional character; he felt that the eyes of the world were upon him; he felt a sense of his inexperience; he felt the danger of self-confidence, and he bowed his knees in prayer to God, to guide him to a knowledge of his duty, that he might do all his acts to the glory of God, and the advancement of his divine cause among men. By considerations like these he was impelled to address Mr. Walton the following concluding epistle:

"Portsmouth, February 1, 1811.

"**REVEREND SIR:** Having taken into serious reflection the whole correspondence which has passed between us, I have felt very deep impressions on my mind arising from the following considerations:

* Series of Letters, pp. 90—93.

"1st. You and I are accountable beings, and must undoubtedly, sooner or later, be called to account for the propriety or impropriety of our labors with each other.

"2d. Our professional character must, without doubt, be a high consideration in our accountability.

"3d. The eyes of society are ever watchful, and God has made us accountable, not only to himself, but to our fellow-creatures, who have a just demand upon us.

"While these important thoughts were revolving in my mind, I felt a sense of my youth, compared with your age, my inexperience, the proneness of the human heart to the vanity of self-confidence, the blindness of prejudice to which old and young are more or less subject, and also the friendship which has hitherto happily subsisted between us since our first acquaintance.

"These circumstances, and those considerations, led my mind to the conclusion that I ought to lay the whole matter before God, and to ask of him suitable wisdom to guide me in relation to so weighty a subject.

"The result of my devotional supplications is a forcible application of the divine direction given by St. Paul, 1 Tim. 5: 1, — 'Rebuke not an elder, but entreat him as a father, and the younger men as brethren.'

"How far your communications to me are consistent or inconsistent with the apostle's direction, in the above text, I do not conceive it my duty to judge, any further than a discharge of my own duty, pursuant to the apostle's direction, may require. On the most deliberate recapitulation of all which I have written, I cannot now say that I could wish to recall a single idea, argument, application of scripture, or sentiment; though I will not even suggest that better information might not produce a different conclusion. I trust I have hitherto treated you, sir, and the subjects of your communications, with all the propriety of which my understanding is master; and my fervent desire is, that I may complete the labors enjoined on me by the above text in a strict conformity to that most holy spirit which inspired such excellent counsel. Therefore, reverend sir, I *entreat* you, as a *father*, to consider, —

"1st. Whether you entreated your humble servant as a *brother* when you admonished him for important particulars which you wholly refuse to substantiate either as facts or wrongs.

"2d. Whether you entreated me as a brother in refusing to decide as to your meaning in the first subject of your admonition, and in not giving me to understand whether I had rightly apprehended you or not.

"3d. Whether you entreated me as a brother in not acknowledging an agreement of sentiment on the subject of *repentance*, after I had given you the fullest assurance possible that I believed in its necessity and importance.

"4th. Whether you entreated me as a brother in admonishing me as an apostate from the true faith of the gospel, while I profess to believe in Christ, the Son of God, as the Saviour of the world; and stand in society, in my various relations, by the blessing of God, unimpeached as to morality.

"5th. Whether you entreated me as a brother in admonishing me against a doctrine which commends the love and mercy of God in the final reconciliation and everlasting happiness of all unreconciled beings; and in opposing said doctrine with no other argument than saying, in effect, that if the scriptures which prove the doctrine are allowed to mean as they naturally read, other scriptures contradict them! — thus furnishing the infidel with his darling weapon against the divinity of the Scriptures.

"6th. Whether you entreated me as a brother in stating those heavy charges against me, in which you *accuse me* of a *designed mistake*, and of *wilful misapplications* of scriptures, where neither *mistake* or *misapplications* of scriptures can be made to appear.

"7th. Whether you entreated me as a brother in misrepresenting my preaching, when you never heard me in the particular capacity of a preacher.

"8th. Whether you entreated me as a brother in taking your leave of this correspondence without supporting one single particular of your admonition, or one single charge against me. And, also, without acknowledging the incorrectness of your admonition, or the impropriety of your charges.

"I entreat you, sir, as a father, to consider whether the spirit

which you manifested, in bringing such *unreasonable* charges against me, be consistent with the directions given by St. Paul to Timothy, and, also, with the example and precept of him who loved his enemies, and commanded his disciples to do likewise.

"I entreat you seriously to consider what the conduct of the Saviour would have been, if he had been disposed to *judge, denounce, reject* and *disfellowship*, all those who sincerely believed in him, and strove to honor him with becoming obedience to his commands, on account of their not understanding everything as well as he did.

"I entreat you to call in question your treatment of me because I do not believe in everything as you do; and carefully examine if it correspond with the conduct of him, who, out of pity to human weakness, submitted himself to the scorn and hatred of those who considered themselves more righteous than others.

"In relation to the doctrine to which you appear so violently opposed, I entreat you, as a father, to take into consideration, 1st. The promises of God to Abraham by which the doctrine is supported. 2dly. The corroborating testimonies in the New Testament by which we are to understand those promises. 3dly. The consistency of the doctrine with the character of *infinite goodness*. And, 4thly. The consistency of the doctrine with every benevolent and godlike desire of the human heart.

"If God promised to bless all the families, nations and kindreds of the earth, in the seed of Abraham, who is Christ, and if St. Paul has informed us that this blessing is *justification through faith*, I entreat you to consider by what authority you condemn the doctrine of *Universal Justification*.

"If the apostle has also argued that God has made peace through the blood of the cross of Jesus, by him to reconcile *all things* to himself, I entreat you to consider by what authority you condemn the doctrine of *Universal Reconciliation*.

"If, in perfect conformity to the promises of God, the prophet has given his testimony that *all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God*, I entreat you to consider by what authority you condemn the doctrine of *Universal Salvation*.

"If you make use of scripture to contradict such plain and

positive declarations, by explaining *parables* and *doubtful sayings* for that purpose, I entreat you candidly to consider whether you can do anything more to the dishonor of the sacred word, or more pleasing to those who wish to bring the Scriptures into disrepute.

"If you feel determined to maintain and inculcate the idea of God's punishing his rational offspring eternally without mercy, love, or pity towards them, I entreat you, as a father, to consider whether you can invent any idea which, applied to God, would make his character appear more contrary to the spirit of him who loved his enemies and died for them.

"I entreat you to examine carefully, and see if it be possible to reconcile the doctrine of endless misery with the benevolent desires of the true spiritual children of God; and consider seriously whether it be proper to pray for the salvation of all men, and then condemn the belief of it as a heresy.

"I entreat you, as a father, to call into serious consideration the real cause of all the persecutions and cruelties which have been practised in Christendom on account of religion, and see if you can find a foundation for these things except in the blasphemous notion that God is unmerciful towards the impenitent.

"Endeavor, sir, to satisfy yourself how the foolish prejudices of ignorant zealots could ever have succeeded in establishing so many middle walls of partition, and in making so many pernicious distinctions in the Christian world, if the blasphemous notion of partiality in God had not been the rage of an apostatized church.

"Find out, if you can, I entreat you, sir, the cause of all the madness and folly which appear in the habitual coldness and bitterness exercised by the clergy of different denominations towards each other, if it be not the blasphemous notion that their foolish prejudices are sanctioned by God!

"Adieu,—I write no more. I feel that I have done my duty. I have entreated you as a father, in love and faithfulness. I leave the effects with God; humbly praying, and joyfully believing, that when we are separated from our hay, wood and stubble, with the spirit of judgment and the spirit of burning, we shall see eye to eye, and be admitted to a humble seat at the

feet of our blessed Saviour, for whose sake I remain, sir, your
most obedient and very humble servant, HOSEA BALLOU.

"REV. JOSEPH WALTON." *

SECTION VIII.—MR. BALLOU AS A PASTOR.

Thus ended the controversy. It will be remembered that in this case Mr. B. merely followed where his opponent led. He was not the aggressor, but was peacefully pursuing his duties as a parish minister, when Mr. Walton opened the correspondence. Mr. B. was not the man to decline an investigation into the grounds of his faith. He believed it was capable of being triumphantly defended. The writing of these letters furnished very slight interruptions to his regular daily duties. He attended assiduously and faithfully to the calls of the church and society over which he was placed. He visited the sick to give them spiritual comfort and peace; he was present in the house of death; he poured consolation into the hearts of mourners; he felt a lively interest in the younger members of his flock. He preached frequently upon the consequences of a sinful life; he taught men that the punishment of sin cannot be escaped; that, though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished. He exhorted all to deeds of mercy and love. But he did not hesitate sometimes to leave the dear people of his charge, and journey to other places. He went out into other parts of New Hampshire, and sometimes extended his visits into Massachusetts, and even to Vermont. In September, 1810, he was present at the annual meeting of the General Con-

* *Series of Letters*, pp. 145—154.

vention of Universalists, at Langdon, N. H., and preached a discourse before that body, and the very large number of persons assembled, from the words of Paul,—“I am set for the defence of the gospel.”

SECTION IX. —A NEW ASSOCIATION.

The ministering brethren near the seaboard felt that they could, with convenience to themselves, in addition to the meeting of the Convention once a year, hold quarterly meetings for religious conference and mutual edification. The first of these conferences was holden at Gloucester, Mass., in the month of January, 1811. A moderator and clerk were appointed. The business of this Conference originally embraced conversation upon moral and religious subjects. In addition to this, the spirit of free inquiry suggested a plan, from which, it was hoped, some useful effects might be realized. Each brother had the liberty to propose questions upon any sacred or divine subject; and these questions were committed to other members, to be answered by them in writing. The papers were read at the succeeding meeting; and, if they met the approbation of the brethren, they were adopted, and filed with the clerk for preservation. The leaders at these meetings were Mr. Ballou, Mr. Turner of Salem, Mr. Jones of Gloucester, and Mr. Kneeland of Charlestown. Brother Edward Mitchell, at this time settled over the First Universalist Society in Boston,* probably did not mix very freely with the

* Mr. Mitchell was settled in Boston, 12 Sept., 1810. The connection was of short duration, having been dissolved Oct. 5, 1811. On the 19th of August, 1813, Rev. Paul Dean was installed as his successor, whose ministry was continued until April, 1823. Mr. Murray died in September, 1815.

rest of the Universalist clergy. He was a Trinitarian,—a Universalist of the stamp of Rely and Murray,—and, except Mr. Murray, then very feeble, he was, perhaps, the only Universalist clergyman in New England who retained Trinitarian principles, and held to the popular but non-scriptural doctrine of atonement. Perhaps Rev. Paul Dean, also, ought to be excepted. Thus great had been the change in the denomination under the influence of Mr. Ballou. When he commenced to announce Unitarian views, in 1794, there was not another Unitarian known among his brethren; and, in the space of fifteen or sixteen years, the state of things, in this matter, had become entirely changed. But of this we shall speak more fully in another place.

SECTION X.—THE GOSPEL VISITANT.

The members of the Ministerial Conference we have just mentioned, conceived the design of publishing the articles which were prepared from time to time, in a work issued in quarterly numbers. It was commenced in the month of June, 1811, and was entitled *The Gospel Visitant*. Each number contained sixty-four octavo pages. The principal subjects, it was proposed, should be doctrinal, but the design was, to embrace whatever had a tendency to virtue, piety and pure and undefiled religion; in a word, whatever would have an effect to exhibit divine truth as altogether lovely. It was intended, also, to give some account of the spread of the denomination of Universalists, and the prevalence of their principles. We consequently find embraced in

the work essays on such subjects as the following : " What profession of faith do the Scriptures teach us was set forth and required by Christ and his apostles, the belief of which constituted a believer in the faith of the apostolic churches ? " Again, " As we are taught to believe that our salvation is connected with and dependent upon forgiveness of sin, and as we are also instructed that God will render to every man according to his work, it is inquired how far such a retribution consists with forgiveness, and how we are said to be forgiven while made subject to punishment ? " Another paper was on the following topic : " As the Scriptures declare that Christ suffered, the just for the unjust, and by his stripes we are healed, in what manner is an application made to our salvation of his sufferings, so as to produce such an effect ? " In addition to the three papers, we find in the first number a letter to a Methodist minister (Rev. Asa Kent, minister of the Methodist society in Portsmouth), by Rev. Hosea Ballou. The number for September opens with " A Candid Examination and Scriptural Trial of a Sermon entitled ' God a Rewarder, ' delivered at the Tabernacle in Salem, Lord's Day, Jan. 27, 1811, by Samuel Worcester, A.M., text Heb. 11 : 6, — ' For he that cometh to God must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. ' " One object had in view by Mr. Worcester was, to establish the doctrine of never-ending punishment as a doctrine of the divine word.* It was, perhaps, this circum-

* Mr. Worcester evidently had no good feeling towards Universalists. He said, " A denial of future punishment is virtually a denial of the gospel. " Universalism seems to have been prospering to such a degree in Salem as to give Mr. Worcester great uneasiness. " My brethren, is it

stance, more than any other, which led Mr. Ballou to feel it his duty to review the sermon. He aimed to show what were the real sentiments of the discourse, and how these sentiments agreed with each other; and he also sought to compare the sentiments and ideas of the preacher with the word of God. He showed very plainly that the doctrines advanced by Mr. Worcester were consistent neither with themselves nor with the Bible. The following extract will manifest what were the opinions of Mr. Ballou at this time on the subject of the recompense for the conduct of men in the present life:

"Let us, in the next place, look at the argument with which the preacher endeavors to support his notion of eternal, never-ending rewards and punishments. This argument supposes that neither the righteous nor the wicked are dealt with, in this world, according to their works; that there is not made that distinction, in the dealings of God with his creatures, in this life, which there really is in their moral characters. So far from that, he thinks that the wicked are rather smiled upon, while the righteous receive frowns.

"The preacher is so confident in his notion on this subject, that he has even declared the truth of it to be authorized by the experience of men in all ages. The following are his words, on page 16: 'Surely, then, to pretend that the present is a state of retribution, or that the righteous receive their reward and the wicked their punishment in this world, in any such manner and degree as to make it manifest that God is a rewarder of them

not most deeply to be deplored, that this corrupt and pernicious religion has an establishment in this place, and is regarded with so little abhorrence and so little concern? Is it not to be lamented, with the liveliest sensibilities, that so many of the unstable and the ignorant, the unwary and the young, are ensnared by its seductive allurements?"—p. 28. Again, "And, before this right hand be given to such communion, may this right arm perish from its socket!"—p. 29.

that diligently seek him, is to go directly in the face of the *experience* and *observation* of all ages.' In order to show the preacher to be utterly erroneous in his opinion expressed above, let us look at the economy of God with the house of Israel, pointed out in the 26th chapter of Leviticus. It is, perhaps, impossible to give a just and full representation of the subject of this chapter in fewer words than are there used; but, for the sake of conciseness, a few quotations only will be made. The reader is requested, at the same time, to examine the whole chapter with attention. See verse 18, — 'And if ye will not yet for all this hearken unto me, then I will punish you seven times more for your sins.' See ver. 21, — 'And if ye walk contrary unto me, and will not hearken unto me, I will bring seven times more plagues upon you, according to your sins.' 24, — 'Then will I also walk contrary unto you, and will punish you yet seven times for your sins.' 28, — 'Then I will walk contrary unto you also in fury, and I, even I, will chastise you seven times for your sins.' The reader is referred to the text for an account of the particular punishments denounced against that people; which, while they are the most awful and dreadful which can be conceived of as possible for a people to suffer in this world, not one of them relates to a future state in the eternal world.

"If it were necessary, it would be very easy to prove, on the other hand, that virtue is also amply rewarded in this state of being, according to its purity. But it seems unnecessary to labor this point, as men in general, and even Pharisees in these times, are loth to say, in so many words, that God does not reward them according to the cleanness of their hands. However, as the preacher suggests that David was among those who thought they had some reason to complain, it may be well to produce his testimony to the contrary; and this will be particularly welcome, as it clears the divine character from an uncharitable representation. See 2d Sam. 22: 21, — 'The Lord rewarded me according to my righteousness; according to the cleanness of my hands hath he recompensed me.' 25, — 'Therefore the Lord hath recompensed me according to my righteousness; according to my cleanness in his eyesight.' Whoever will read and carefully examine the whole

of this chapter, will see that no comment is necessary to show that David was fully satisfied with the marks of distinction which the rock of his salvation had made between him and his enemies."*

Having thus shown his view of reward or recompense, Mr. Ballou supposed that some persons would desire to know how he understood the text. If he did not think that Dr. Worcester's view of it was correct, it was his duty to suggest some other, which he thought was so. Hence he said :

"As we have shown, we presume, to the preacher's understanding, that the use he made of his text is contrary to its true sense, he, as well as our readers in general, have a right to ask what that reward is of which the text speaks, and how and where the diligent seeker of God is to receive it. The answer to these questions is as easy as they are important. 1st. What is the reward which we expect to obtain by seeking after any nameable thing? — Answer, The thing itself. 2d. When do we expect to have this reward? — Answer, When we find that for which we diligently seek. 3d. What are the seekers, noticed in the text, in search of? — Answer, God. When will the diligent seeker of God be rewarded? — Answer, When he finds God. 4th. How can God be found? — Answer, By his Son's revealing him. 5th. In what character is he revealed? — Answer, In the character of a just God and a Saviour. 6th. Does not this reward imply eternal life? — Yes, for to know God, and Jesus Christ, whom he has sent, is life eternal. 7th. When is this life eternal received and enjoyed? — Answer, When this knowledge is obtained."†

SECTION X. — DEDICATION AT CHARLESTOWN.

On the fifth of September, 1811, took place the installation of Rev. Abner Kneeland, at Charlestown. Such occasions in those days were rare, and, for the interest

* *Gospel Visitant*, vol. i. pp. 78—79.

† *Ibid.* p. 96.

they excited, deserve to be made a matter of special notice. The society in Charlestown had been formed some two or three years previously to this time, of persons who had been in the habit of attending on the preaching of Mr. Murray, at Boston; and before the meeting-house was finished, they held public services on the Lord's day in a hall upon the main street, near the corner of Thompson-street. Mr. Kneeland, who had been settled at Langdon, N. H., moved down, at the request of the society, and took the pastoral charge. The meeting-house, in the mean time, was going on to completion, and was finally made ready for dedication upon the day we have named. The brethren came together: Mitchell from Boston, Ballou from Portsmouth, Jones from Gloucester, and Turner from Salem. The congregations on that day were exceedingly large, and the clergy of the town were present. Mr. Mitchell preached the sermon of dedication in the morning, from 2d Chron. 5: 13th and 14th verses. The writer was present, a boy less than twelve years of age. It was the first instance in his life in which he ever attended a Universalist church, and, of course, the first time in which he ever saw Mr. Ballou, or either of these preachers. Mr. Mitchell's style is well remembered. Great attention was given to him. He spoke without notes, and with much animation. It was a sermon which the great body of the people pronounced eloquent. In the afternoon came the installation, or "reinstallation," as the service was called; a form of speech that was afterwards abandoned, as successive removals could not all be described by an additional prefix for each. The sermon was preached

by Mr. Ballou, from Rev. 2 : 10. The Delivery of the Scriptures and Charge were by Rev. Thomas Jones, and the Right Hand of Fellowship by Rev. Edward Turner. The words of Mr. Ballou's text were : "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life." He spoke of the importance of *faithfulness*. God is faithful, or he would not require faithfulness in us. Christ is faithful. He *finished* the work which the Father gave him to do. The co-workers with Jesus were faithful. "They that are with him are called, and chosen, and *faithful*." "And," said the preacher,

"The first and the last, who was dead and is alive, ever having a watchful care over the ministry of his word, noticing the peculiar circumstances of his servant, the minister of the church in Smyrna, directed the solitary lover of his cross to communicate this encouraging promise to this suffering angel of his church : 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.'"

Mr. Ballou directed his arguments to the following particulars : 1st. An illustration of the importance of faithfulness in the work of the ministry. 2d. To show the nature of the reward promised to the faithful.

One great reason why the preacher of the gospel should be faithful is that God is faithful. God omitted to will and to do nothing which would make the gospel more *extensive*, or more *certain* in its effects. Mr. Ballou thought that the doctrine of free agency, as generally understood, conflicted with the idea of perfect faithfulness in God. God's faithfulness is manifested in the kind care he eternally exercises over mankind.

“Could it be found in the plan of the gospel that our incorruptible inheritance rested on conditions at the disposal of any moral agency, at all subject to the imperfections of creature nature, the faithfulness of God would be out of the question. But, blessed be God forever ! He hath saved us and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began. This is the record in the archives of heaven : ‘ God hath GIVEN unto us eternal life ; and this life is in his Son.’ And here it is just to observe, that this gift of eternal life in Christ, to the world of mankind, was not pursuant to any act of the mediation of the Son ; but all acts of his mediation are pursuant to the establishment of that gift in him.”

Mr. Ballou insisted on the view of atonement as taken by himself. This was a lovely truth in his sight — God in Christ *reconciling* the world to himself. God was never unreconciled to man ; the world was the party which needed reconciliation. Of the *faithfulness* of the Captain of our salvation he said :

“ The whole of this mediation, as has been noticed, is pursuant to the eternal purpose of God, purposed in himself, in the salvation of man : and not, as has been too generally taught and believed, the cause which induced our Heavenly Father to be thus merciful to his offspring. The unscriptural doctrine of God’s being reconciled to his creatures through Christ, frequently expressed in supplicating the Deity to lift on us his *reconciled* countenance, while it is marked with the contradiction of changing an unchangeable being, supposes the infirmity to have existed in God, which the mediation of Christ was designed to cure in us. This infirmity is *alienation from the life of God, through the ignorance there is in us*. To remove this ignorance, destroy this alienation, and to reconcile the world to God, was the great object of the mediation of the Saviour. To this object, as a faithful and true witness, his labors of love, in preaching the word of the kingdom, in miracles of mercy, in suffering and death,

in his resurrection from the dead, in his ascension into heaven, the descent of the Holy Ghost, and his abiding with his chosen ministers of peace unto the end of the world, were all directed."

What Mr. Ballou honestly believed, he felt that *faithfulness* required him to preach. He had spoken of the faithfulness of God and of Christ, and of the faithfulness which was required of ministers of the gospel. As in the days of Christ the opposition to the truth came from the leading religious sects among the Jews, so in our own day, as Mr. Ballou held, the truth was opposed by the so-called evangelical and self-styled pious people of the land. He said :

"As, when our blessed Saviour was on earth, it was necessary to oppose all the moral virtues, with all their divine energies, to the opposition which came, like an overflowing torrent, fed by a thousand streams, against the truth, so is the case at the present day. Then stood up, to oppose the gospel, the high priest, the doctors of the law, the Pharisees with their broad phylacteries, the ready Scribes, the Sadducees, with the whole ecclesiastical power of an apostatized church. The vengeance of excommunication from the synagogue awaited the unhappy victim of their religious zeal, who dared to confess Christ. And wherein does the present opposition differ from that, except in forms and names? The pride of popularity then swelled the unsanctified heart of the religious bigot, who thanked God he was not like other men; the religion of the day, like a loose garment, covered the extortionous worldling, and those who were like painted sepulchres, full of dead men's bones, were revered as friends and ministers of God. And who will attempt to show wherein that popular religion which denies the scriptural doctrine of universal justification through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, in the present day, differs from the old doctrine of the Pharisee? The more opinionated those blind guides became in the vain notion that they were the peculiar favorites of heaven,

so the more they found it in their hearts to lavish the curses of the law, which they had made void by their traditions, on those whom they styled sinners. And surely it requires but little sagacity to discover the same abomination in antichristian opposition to the gospel now."

Jesus' faithfulness consisted in having no will of his own, separate from the will of God. He and the Father were one. Jesus was the most perfect type ever shown of reconciliation to God. His meat and his drink was to do the will of his Father, and to finish his work. The clergy of the present day, Mr. B. held, did not follow Christ so faithfully as they ought. They were not reconciled to the divine will, which was to have "all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth."

"As it was not possible to deviate from the plan and wisdom of God, by adding anything which could make it better, or by omitting anything unnecessary, faithfulness in adhering strictly to divine directions was of infinite importance. So, in that ministry which is committed to earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us, faithfulness must be considered as indispensable. Unfaithfulness to the will and work which God has revealed in Christ, setting up a will and a work for which no directions are given in God's word, has led the church into the wilderness, through the instrumentality of blind guides, who studied their own gratifications more than they did the will of God. Then it became the trade of priestcraft to make the word of God's will bend to the word of the will of Antichrist, who, having set up his rebellion against the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world, endeavors to prove and maintain that the sin of the world never will be taken away. If God says *he will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth*, Antichrist says, God never did really will that such an event should take place. The fact is, vain men have a WILL which is opposed to the WILL of God, and they are

so deceived that they think it must be more pleasing to God than the WILL expressed in the above scripture. What have been the evil consequences resulting from this unfaithfulness to the will of God? Let the silent, unutterable pangs of despair, the anguish of millions racked with unholy fear, the briny tear which bathes the supposed reprobate infant, tell the lamentable tale! Children of our Heavenly Father, and heirs of eternal life in Christ, in the room of being brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, have been taught to believe that they were the objects of God's wrath and vengeance the moment they were born! How different from the testimony of Jesus is such doctrine! In faithfulness to his Father's eternal purpose, we hear him say, 'Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.'

The minister of Christ, said Mr. B., should be faithful in watchfulness over himself. He is a man, with all the appetites, passions and imperfections, common to men; and it requires a faithfulness which will occupy every hour of his life to avoid being overcome. Again, he must be faithful unto death. There is no period of life in which the minister of Christ would be justified in throwing off the armor of God. He must be watchful on every side; keep himself pure, humble, active, becoming more and more like Christ, and remembering always that he is a pupil in the school of the Redeemer. But the preacher comes at last to the reward, the "crown." And one would conclude, from a passage in this discourse, that he, at this day, had not abandoned altogether the belief of a reward hereafter for the good deeds of the present life. His views of retribution, however, are not to be forgotten. He did not believe that vice went unpunished, or virtue unrewarded, in the present life. He believed that God punishes sin according to its demerit, in this world, where

it is committed; he also held that virtue is amply rewarded in this world, according to its purity. In his "Examination of Dr. Worcester's Discourse on Rewards and Punishments," the fact we have here stated is made very apparent. But still there seems to have been a sense in which, at this time, if we understand him, he held to a reward in the immortal state. He says :

"The great apostle of the Gentiles, speaking of the Christian race, represents it by those who strove for the mastery in the Grecian games, and says, 'Now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.' And this crown he more particularly explains in the following words, speaking to those to whom he and his fellow-laborers had imparted the word of life. '*For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? For ye are our glory and joy.*' How glorious is such a crown! Earthly monarchs, prompted by ambition and pride, have waded through the blood of their fellow-men to obtain their perishable crowns. But here are incorruptible diadems, whose lustre will outshine the stars of heaven, when earthly honors are forgotten. Among the innumerable joys of the world to come, he who has been a faithful and true witness of all those things in the which his Lord has appeared to him, will realize with infinite delight the souls who have been delivered from darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son, through his ministry.

"On that day when these crowns are distributed according to the faithfulness of the servants of the Lord, such questions will not be asked as now appear to be of the first importance. No inquiry will be made whether the subject was educated at an honorable seminary; no question about his elocution; nothing will be named of his great or little natural abilities; no credentials of doctor of divinity will be demanded; nothing said respecting denominations. The sole question must be this, *Was he faithful unto death?* He who was educated at the feet of Gamaliel, and

he who was called from his fishing-net, must wear crowns according to their faithfulness."

SECTION XI.—ON THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

We find in the *Visitant* for March, 1812, an article on the passage 1 Peter 3: 18—20, in which the apostle speaks of the Spirits in Prison. This article has no signature; but it has been pronounced by Rev. Russell Streeter to be a production of Mr. Ballou. Mr. S. states, from his personal knowledge, not only that the article was written by Mr. Ballou, but that it was written at his (Mr. S.'s) request. In this article Mr. Ballou took a different view of the passage from that which he obtained some years afterwards, and which he continued to entertain through his subsequent life. Under these circumstances, it seems a duty to lay the substance of the article before the reader in this place, as it cannot be doubted that it is to be regarded as expressive of Mr. Ballou's opinion at the time.

"ON CHRIST'S PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS IN PRISON.

"The passage which speaks of this preaching is found in 1 Pet. 3: 18, and on: 'For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust (that he might bring us to God), being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit; by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison; which some time were disobedient when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the Ark was preparing, wherein few, that is, eight souls were saved by water.' On the above passage, there has been much contention between commentators, whose aim, as it appears, was to accommodate the text to their respective opinions, so as to favor their general sentiments. Protestant commentators, in general, are agreed that the preaching

noticed in the text was the preaching of Noah to the old world. It is evident, however, that the Protestants were rather driven to such a far-fetched explanation in order to avoid an idea which they found in the Papal faith, though that idea was more consistent with some of the ancient fathers than the one they adopted. As long as men are disposed to learn the scriptures how to teach, before they are willing to be taught by them, the scriptures will be forced to speak as many different languages as were spoken at the building of Babel, and with as much confusion.

“Our duty is plain, and as easy as it is plain. It is only to let the scripture speak its own most natural language, connecting the divine testimony, and permitting one part to explain to us what may appear enigmatical in another. It may be proper, in the first place, carefully to examine the passage in Peter, with a view to see what it says; and, in the second place, it may be proper to allow that the passage says what it really means, and then illustrate the text by the assistance of other passages. The text says, 1st. That Christ has once suffered for sins. 2d. That he, being just, suffered for the benefit of the unjust. 3d. That the benefit which was designed to result to us, as the unjust, from the sufferings of Christ, is our being brought to God. 4th. Christ being put to death in the flesh was his suffering for sin, and his being quickened by the Spirit enables him to bring us to God. 5th. Christ having been put to death in the flesh, and quickened by the Spirit, by which he had power to bring sinners to God, he went and preached to the spirits in prison. 6th. These spirits in prison, to whom Christ preached, were disobedient when the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah. 7th. The preaching to these spirits in prison was performed by Christ after he was put to death in the flesh and quickened by the Spirit. The foregoing seven particulars are as plainly expressed in this text as we could reasonably expect that they might be in so few words; nor does it appear that there are any words wanting to carry those ideas with plainness to the mind. As was proposed, we will now allow that the text really means what it says, and look for an illustration of the disputed part in other scriptures. The opinion which modern commentators

oppose to that of the ancient fathers of the church is, that the preaching noticed in the text was performed by the Spirit of God in Noah, to the inhabitants of the earth in the days before the flood, while those to whom this preaching was sent were in the flesh.

“It has been hinted before, that this far-fetched explanation was a mere shift to which Protestant divines were driven; and, on a candid view of the text, it is natural to suppose that something very formidable must have attacked them, to have driven them to such an unwarrantable shift. There is nothing said in the text about the Spirit's preaching, or of Noah's preaching. To how many inhabitants of the old world is it supposable that Noah could have preached? The number must have been very few, in comparison with the whole. And yet, if he had had the power to preach to every individual of the old world, it ought not to be used to prove that Christ did not preach to their spirits, after he was put to death in the flesh and quickened by the Spirit, as stated in our text. That Jesus Christ does actually possess, as Lord of all, the dead as well as the living, St. Paul shows in Rom. 14: 7—9, ‘For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died, and rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.’ St. Peter, seemingly with a design to make this subject as plain as possible, alluding in his 4th chapter to what he states in his 3d, speaking of those who should give an account to him who is ready to judge both the quick and the dead, says, verse 6th, ‘For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit.’ By this the apostle tells us what was preached to the spirits in prison, and what it was preached for. It was the gospel that was preached, and it was preached to those who were not in the flesh, that they might be judged as if they were in the flesh, but that they might live according to God in the Spirit; even that Spirit which quickened Christ and gave him power to bring

us to God. In this subject there is not the least ambiguity, nor is there any other difficulty than that it is as plain and direct a contradiction of the commonly-received opinion, — that is, that there is no mercy to be communicated to those who die in unreconciliation to God, or in unbelief of the gospel,—as can possibly be stated. It may be proper, by way of indulgence, to ask which appears most warrantable, either to allow this subject to stand exactly as the scriptures above quoted state it, or to contradict those scriptures by limiting the goodness of God, without any authority from scripture for so doing! It is a thing much to be desired, and fervently prayed for, that those who so frequently and so earnestly labor to limit the holy one of Israel, in the dispensation of his grace, would pause, and inquire into the authority by which they are to be supported.

“The pretension that the sentiment, so plainly taught in those scriptures which have been considered, is a sentiment which tends to make sinners careless about their future and eternal welfare, not only treats the word of God with impertinence, but is subject to a fair refutation. What right have we to do violence to the scriptures, under the pretension that the doctrine taught by them is unwholesome? If that were the case, where would the blame lie? It is conceived that Christian modesty ought to silence such impertinent objections! It is, however, found in the scripture which we have considered that those spirits, to whom the gospel was preached, with a design that they might live according to God in the spirit, were JUDGED as they who were in the flesh, by him who is the proper judge of the quick and the dead. This judge says, ‘I will give unto every one of you according to your works.’ Far be it from the word of God either to encourage the sinner in wickedness, or to discourage him from hoping in divine mercy. God is a just God, and a Saviour.”*

Such, we repeat, was the view taken by Mr. Ballou of this passage in 1811. It is to be remembered that he felt obliged, some years afterwards, to change his opinion.

* *Gospel Visitant*, pp. 220—223.

He never hesitated to abandon a doctrine, or change a position, however earnestly he might have defended it. What his opinion subsequently was, we shall show in another place.

SECTION XII.—NOTES ON THE PARABLES ENLARGED.

In the midst of all the duties in which Mr. B. engaged, he did not neglect the welfare of the society of which he was the pastor. He remembered the Saviour's injunction — "Feed my sheep," "feed my lambs;" and he endeavored to feed them with the "bread of God which cometh down from heaven, and giveth life unto the world." Nevertheless, as he did not preach written sermons, but spoke extemporaneously from the pulpit, he had much time which he could devote to other subjects. During the year 1811 he was engaged in revising the work entitled "Notes on the Parables," which originally appeared in the year 1804. At first it was an octavo pamphlet of eighty pages; but, by the revision, it was swelled into a duodecimo volume of two hundred and seventy-eight pages.* The same motives which urged him to write the work at first, induced him to enlarge it. The first edition was entirely out of print; another was called for; and Mr. Ballou thought, and thought justly, that the value of the book might be greatly increased by filling up what was, in the first

* This edition was entitled "Notes on the Parables of the New Testament. By Hosea Ballou, pastor of the Universalist Church and Society in Portsmouth, N. H., author of 'Treatise on Atonement,' 'Candid Review,' &c. &c. Second Edition, Scripturally illustrated and argumentatively defended, by the author. Portsmouth, for sale at C. Peirce's book-store, 1812."

edition, but little more than an outline. He had found no occasion to change his opinion essentially on any subject embraced therein during the seven years that had passed since the first edition appeared; but many new evidences had occurred to his mind of the truth of his opinions, in the course of his study of the Scriptures. He proposed, in the second edition, in all cases in which it was necessary, to examine the matter at greater length than he had done it before; to point out the common and false interpretation; to show the want of connection between such an interpretation and the parable itself; to point out the true sense, and to sustain it by appeals to the text, the context and the general tenor of the gospel. Mr. Ballou concluded this edition in the following manner:

“Having given this subject as ample support as the limits of the present work will admit, and humbly conceiving that this support will be conceived as sufficient to substantiate the truth to which the arguments have been directed, it is necessary to conclude these illustrations, by observing,

“1st. That on such an examination of the Scriptures as the foregoing notes and illustrations have led to, I am under the necessity of saying that the light of divine revelation appears more evident in the restoration of all mankind, from sin to holiness, from death to life, from misery to happiness, and from mortality to immortality, through the mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord, than it formerly did, though I was satisfied before that this truth was embraced in the Scriptures.

“2d. That the view taken, in this work, of the divine dealings of God with mankind, in so disposing of rewards and punishments as to give every suitable encouragement to moral virtue and religious piety, and to faithfully and successfully correct the wickedness of his alienated offspring, comports incomparably

better with the spirit of Christ and all the graces of the gospel than the sentiment does which represents divine justice to be unmerciful in the execution of punishment.

“3d. That, having been obliged, by the limits designed to this work, to pass by so many arguments in favor of truth, which seem necessary for the assistance of the church in her journey from the wilderness, I have been brought to conceive it to be a duty which I owe to the cause in which I am engaged, and to which I wish to be devoted, to present to the public a more extensive work, which may embrace the system of divine revelation in a greater variety of subjects, expose errors in larger portraits, give a general view of the travel of the human mind in its progress in religion, and present suitable encouragements to seek after those things which belong to the ever-blessed kingdom of righteousness and peace. This work, should it please God to continue me in health for a sufficient time, I hope to be succeeded in, to the honor of his name and to the comfort of his children. And

“4th. I cannot close these observations without expressing my gratitude to the Divine Being, for continuing me in life and health, and granting me the assistance by which this work is, though imperfectly, completed.”—pp. 277, 278.

We know not to what Mr. Ballou referred by the “more extensive work” mentioned as being in preparation or contemplation. We think it never appeared. Perhaps the political troubles which were so fast settling like dark clouds over the land, causing pain, want, contention, distrust, the rupturing of the ties of friendship, and many other difficulties and causes of sorrow, turned his attention away from the design. Many people could get little money to invest in books; it was very hard indeed for them to obtain even the necessaries of life.

SECTION XIII.—SERMON ON THE WAR.

In June, 1812, the difficulties which had been ripening between our own country and Great Britain, broke out into a war. The principal causes of this war were the inflexibility of the latter power in searching the merchant vessels of the United States, in times of peace, for the discovery of British seamen, and the capture of such vessels for alleged infringement of British orders. There is no doubt that our seamen — sometimes native born, and sometimes those who had sworn allegiance to our government, and been accepted as citizens — were dragged from our vessels, and forced on board British ships of war. It is painful, after nearly forty years of peace with the mother country, to refer to her treatment of our infant nation after it had obtained its independence. There had been a continual complaint against the British government, under all administrations, from that of Washington to that of Madison, for the non-fulfilment of treaty stipulations, for the incitement of the savages to war against our country, for supplying them with arms and ammunition, which acts were constantly represented to that government as sufficient causes of war. The wars between France and other European nations, especially England, rendered our relations with Great Britain still more critical and dangerous; and, under Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison, our government were obliged to remonstrate very seriously with those countries for the unlawful interruption of our commerce; and with the latter power, especially, for dragging our seamen from our ships to serve in Brit-

ish vessels of war. The British government disclaimed the right to take American seamen, but maintained the right to search American vessels for British seamen; and even if a man had become an adopted citizen of the United States, according to the laws of our country, and had his papers of protection with him, the British officers paid no respect to these; for the British government claimed that no British subject had the power to throw off his allegiance to his king, and become the subject of any other power, or owe a citizen's allegiance to any other government. The duty enjoined upon British naval commanders was a very delicate and difficult one to be executed. Had the question of search and impressment been a settled one, the difficulty of execution would still have been great; but, as it was, our seamen, and commanders of merchant vessels, regarded the dragging of men from our own ships of commerce on board British ships of war, to fight unwillingly, and perhaps against their own country, as little less than piracy. There is no doubt that native-born American citizens were sometimes carried off in this manner, though the British government alleged that in such cases it was done by mistake; and in all cases in which it could be proved so,—a very difficult thing to be done on board a British ship, upon the wide sea,—the seamen should be given up. Our commerce was in danger of being driven from the ocean, and American seamen had no security that they should not be impressed on board British ships of war. There had been other circumstances to increase the public indignation in the United States. British ships of war hovered upon our coasts, sometimes firing upon our

merchant ships, if they did not heave to, that they might be searched; and, in one case, a heavy British frigate attacked an American ship of war (the Chesapeake), which, being altogether unsuspecting of such an attack, was unprepared for defence, and therefore hastily surrendered. The result of all these things was that the Congress of the United States declared war against Great Britain and all her dependencies, in June, 1812.

There were two political parties in the United States, known by the name of Federalists and Republicans,—the former being the opponents of the war, and the latter its defenders, as a just, necessary, and unavoidable measure. Mr. Ballou was by no means a political partisan, but he had a very strong love of his country. He believed the war was necessary, and that it could not have been avoided without submitting to a series of evils far greater than the war itself. It happened that the minor sects in our land, to wit, the Baptists, the Methodists and the Universalists, were more ready to justify the government for defending our commerce and our seamen by the declaration of war, than the sects of Episcopalians and Congregationalists, among whom the rich men of New England were more frequently found. Public feeling ran very high. It was not uncommon for the clergy of the sects last mentioned to declaim against the war, and to denounce our rulers, and ridicule them with great severity, that they might be brought into contempt among the people. The ministers of the other sects took different ground; and, while they lamented that there was any occasion for the war, they believed it was a necessary measure; and they prayed for their suffering country, that

God would shed his blessings upon her, that he would give wisdom to our rulers, and crown their well-meant efforts with success; that he would give success to our arms, upon the sea and the land,—a prayer that God did not disdain to answer, especially so far as our navy was concerned.

The society in Portsmouth of which Mr. Ballou was pastor was composed of members of both political parties, a majority of whom, as to numbers, were Republicans; but there were a very respectable number, of the wealthiest and most influential of the members, who were of the other class. Mr. Ballou knew this full well, and he felt no desire to introduce political matters into the pulpit upon the Sabbath day. He wished to respect the feelings of those who differed from him, so far as he could do it without a sacrifice of principle; and the Sabbath day he would keep holy. But, shortly after the declaration of war, Mr. Madison issued his proclamation for a day of national humiliation and prayer (20th August, 1812). Not a few of the clergy devoted this day to a consideration of the country, the dangers in which it was placed, the justice or injustice of the war, as the views and feelings of the preacher might lead him to speak. Some of the clergy absolutely ran riot on this day in denouncing the constituted authorities of the United States, while they palliated the faults of the British government. Mr. Ballou appeared before God and his congregation, on that day, to pray for his country, and to express his convictions in regard to the necessity and justice of the war. He spoke from his heart, as he usually did; he might conscientiously have said more, but

he could not conscientiously have said less. Prudence, as well as inclination, dictated that he should abstain from the denunciatory style in which too many of the clergy indulged who took a stand against the government; he spoke in defence of his country and of the war.

He took for his text the words of Christ, "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." — John 18 : 36. Temporal governments, he said, must be sustained by such means as were proper to that end. The kingdom of Christ required very different means to sustain it. If Jesus had been anointed a temporal prince, he would have received the right to put in motion all the springs of government against any power on earth that sought to crush him; but he was not a temporal prince, his "kingdom was not of this world." Notwithstanding Mr. B. held that the kingdom of Christ could not be established by physical force, yet it was right for men to fight in a righteous vindication of an established supremacy, and in the necessary defence of any of their rights which might possibly be infringed. He, in the first place, attempted to illustrate from scripture, and support by reason, some of those occasions which would justify war. And, second, he applied his illustrations and arguments to the occasions which led the constituted authorities of the United States to oppose the power of Great Britain by a declaration of war. The sermon was, then, a war sermon. It maintained that there might be a state of things which justified war, and which made even war a duty; and that the war against Great Britain grew out of such circumstances. To show that war was sometimes justifiable, he referred to the case of Abra-

ham, who put himself at the head of a small company, to deliver his brother Lot from the hands of his enemies; he referred also to the act of Esther, who obtained deliverance for her kindred, the Jews, from the awful fate devised for them by the wicked and treacherous Haman, and enabled them to defend themselves from the assaults of their enemies; he adduced, moreover, the case of David, who went out to war to recover the members of his family from captivity. These, and other passages of scripture history referred to by Mr. Ballou, convinced him, beyond a doubt, that there might be cases in which war would be justifiable.

From these considerations, he proceeded to the question whether the war in which the United States were at the time engaged was justifiable and necessary. He was clearly of the opinion that it was so. The impressment of our seamen, the interference with our commerce, the wanton shedding of blood, were acts of war which Britain perpetrated in the time of peace; and it were better that there should be an open war than that our country should suffer the most dreaded evils thereof without the opportunity of resistance.

"If Abraham, the friend of God (said the preacher) and the father of the faithful, was blessed in his return from delivering his brethren out of the hands of lawless violence, will He who holds the balances of eternal justice frown on America for resisting those multiplied outrages, committed on the persons of our brethren? To the God of Abraham we appeal; to Him we look for approbation and success in the contest."—p. 12.

Such is a very brief description of the sermon to which we have referred, and which caused no small excitement

in Portsmouth. Mr. Ballou's aim was not to administer to party strife, but to subserve justice, and to vindicate the insulted honor of his country. The political papers noticed the sermon, some with praise, and some with great rancor. None attempted to show that the main positions taken in the sermon were not sound; but the opponents of the war described it as an illiterate performance, and found fault with the metaphors and phraseology. To the Universalist society it was a decided stimulant. The friends of the national administration were gratified; but not so those of the other party. Some of the members of the society belonged to the last-named party,—some of the most influential and the most wealthy. This was not judged by Mr. Ballou as a sufficient reason why he should withhold the truth, and he could not withhold it. Some of those who took umbrage on this occasion never got over it. There is no doubt that by one part of the society he was loved more, and by others less, in consequence of this discourse. But even among the disaffected there was not a union of feeling. Some loved the society and the cause of religion above all things, and they would not persecute their pastor for the expression of his opinions, however much they regretted it. Others were more violent. They could not sit any longer with pleasure under his ministry. No immediate action, however, was taken. In the course of the next winter the anti-administration party came out in procession, under the name of the "Washington Benevolent Society." Mr. Ballou was viewing the parade, when one of the persons standing near asked him what he thought of the "*Washington Benevolent Society*." He replied, in a

pleasant and polite manner, that the name of the society reminded him of a passage of scripture; and, on being asked what it was, he replied that the words were these: "In that day seven women shall take hold of one man saying, We will eat our own bread and wear our own apparel, only let us be called by thy name to take away our reproach."—Isaiah 4: 1. This fact also came to the ears of the disaffected members, and did not tend in the least to diminish the excitement. Mr. Ballou believed that the use of the name of *Washington*, by the political association who had assumed it, was intended to avert popular odium, and was an act of injustice to the memory of that great and good man.

If we intend to form an impartial judgment in regard to this political episode in the life of Mr. Ballou, we must look at it in connection with the spirit of those times, and of the habits of the clergy in New England generally. It was a common thing,—especially on Fast Days, and other days of secular appointment,—for the clergy of all sects to treat more or less on political subjects. Some of the clergy of the standing order (so called at that time), and of the Episcopalians, attacked the government in a very virulent manner. It would have been too much to expect, while this mad opposition was being carried on upon the one side, that nothing should be said in defence of the government upon the other. Mr. Ballou's sermon was exceedingly temperate, when compared with the ebullitions of such divines as Dr. Gardiner, of Boston, Dr. Morse, of Charlestown, Dr. Osgood, of Medford, and Dr. Parish, of Byfield. Others may wonder that Mr. Ballou should introduce the subject of politics at all into the

sacred desk; but those acquainted with his strong love of country and our political institutions, who will consider also how widely the government was assailed in New England by the clergy of the dominant sects, will wonder that he said so little. He was a man of strong feelings, of great boldness, who felt not a reliance upon any religious society for his support; for he could preach at large, and do equally as much good. But he unquestionably restrained his feelings, from considerations of peace and harmony in his society; and it must be acknowledged, if there were any sin or impropriety in treating on national matters in the pulpit at that period, that there were many clergymen, of high standing, who were far more to be blamed than he. But he regarded this act, let it be remembered, as an act of duty; and such acts he was not likely to neglect.

SECTION XIV.—AFTER THIS THE JUDGMENT.

It was about this time that Mr. Ballou discovered the true sense of Hebrews 9 : 27, 28,—“And as it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment, so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.” Then, and for four or five years afterwards, he supposed the New Testament writers admitted the doctrine of punishment in the future state. The judgment mentioned in the passage had been invariably regarded by learned Christian divines as a judgment in that state; it is expressly said to be after the death spoken of. Mr. Ballou’s attention, how-

ever, was strongly attracted by the comparative words *as* and *so*. What do these mean? he asked. "*As* it is appointed unto men once to die, *so* Christ was once offered." There is here an evident comparison between the death of Christ, and the death of the men mentioned in connection with it. There seemed to Mr. Ballou to be an allusion to the *sacrificial* character of the death in both cases. He saw reason to doubt that the apostle was speaking of the *common death of all men*, for that is not *sacrificial*. At this juncture, the true sense of the passage flashed upon his mind. He saw that the men mentioned were *the men* or priests who offered sacrifices under the law, and died in form for the sins of the people; so (that is, for a like purpose) Christ was once offered to bear the sins of mankind. Mr. B. remembered that the great object of the epistle to the Hebrews was to commend Christianity to them more fully than it had been done before. The author of that epistle wished to show them that there was nothing good in the law [to which they were inclined to turn back] which had not something corresponding and more glorious in the gospel. The high priest entered into the inner tabernacle, or holiest place of all, *once* in every annual sacrifice; but not without blood, which he offered for himself and for the errors of the people. The service was a sacrifice, the death was a sacrificial death. The priest did not actually die, but the shedding of his blood was represented by the shedding of the blood of goats and calves. He died figuratively in the sacrifice. The next point of inquiry was, What judgment succeeded to this? for the words are, "after this the judgment." The answer to

the question was speedily attained, by a reference to the ceremonies of the annual sacrifice. In fact, the judgment was an important part of the service. If the ceremonial death of the priests, the men under the law, was the *sacrifice*, the judgment was the *expiation*. The judgment is fully described, as Mr. Ballou discovered, in the description given by Moses of the services of the Jewish ritual. The high priest, after his sacrificial death (represented by the shedding of the blood of animals), went into the holy place, as Christ ascended into heaven after his resurrection. When the high priest entered the holy place, he bore *the judgment* of the children of Israel upon his heart before the Lord. Their names were written upon his breast-plate, which was hence called "the breast-plate of *judgment*." Mr. Ballou's mind turned, with great satisfaction, to the words of Moses, Exodus 28: 29—30, "And Aaron (the high priest) shall bear the names of the children of Israel in the breast-plate of *judgment* upon his heart, when he goeth in unto the holy place, for a memorial before the Lord continually. And thou shalt put in the breast-plate of *judgment* the Urim and the Thummim; and they shall be upon Aaron's heart, when he goeth in before the Lord: and Aaron shall bear *the judgment of the children of Israel* upon his heart before the Lord continually." By this passage the subject is made quite plain; the high priest went "in before the Lord" after his ceremonial death; and when he went "in before the Lord," he bore *the judgment* of the children of Israel upon his heart. According to the form of the ritual, the judgment could not come before the death. The author

of the epistle to the Hebrews, in describing to them the good things of the gospel, says, that under the law it was appointed unto men (that is, the priests) once to die in each annual sacrifice; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; he died as the high priest of the Christian church. The Jewish priest returned from the holy of holies, bearing the justification of the people upon his breast; so Christ should appear a second time, without sin, unto salvation. Such is evidently the meaning of the words in Heb. 9: 27, 28, and this interpretation blends in excellent harmony with the context. So far as we know, this was the first time that any modern writer had seen the true sense of this passage.

Mr. Ballou felt great joy. He immediately communicated to his dear friend, Rev. Edward Turner, of Salem, the fact he had discovered. Mr. T. received the announcement with admiration, and communicated the intelligence to Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, who pronounced Mr. Ballou's interpretation to be the true sense, beyond a doubt. Writing some time afterward, Mr. Ballou said:

“ When I lived in Portsmouth, N. H., some fourteen or fifteen years ago, I was made exceedingly glad by discovering, in my study on Heb. 9: 27—28, what I now believe to be the true application and use of the passage. As every new idea which was obtained by brethren, so long ago, was considered in the light of common property, we were in the habit of communicating to each other all discoveries which we were able to make; and one felt no small degree of pleasure in being able to repay such favors as he had received. In the spirit of this reciprocity, I immediately communicated my thoughts on this text to a brother near Boston; he received it with full and cordial approbation, and

communicated it to one in Boston and to another at a little distance, and all accepted the exposition with approbation and delight. But what use do these brethren now make of this passage? Why, to prove the old notion of a day of judgment in the future state, and future retribution, — all which is acceptable to the public prejudices, the perturbed torrent of which we were formerly engaged in resisting! ” *

But in the following article Mr. B. was still more explicit :

“ Towards twenty years ago, I had my heart greatly rejoiced by the discovery of what I have ever since believed is the true meaning of this passage. At that time I communicated what I thought was a valuable discovery to Br. Edward Turner, who received my views with entire approbation, and immediately communicated the same to Br. Thomas Jones, who pronounced them, in his opinion, to be the true sense of the apostle. After this I often explained this portion of the divine testimony according to the discovery to which I had been led. After I came to this city (Boston) I was requested to speak from this text ; because it was thought to be forcible testimony against my views of the hereafter state, and in favor of the retribution. This sermon was published.” †

* See *Universalist Magazine*, vol. ix. p. 106, Dec. 22, 1827.

† See *Trumpet*, vol. III. p. 29, Aug. 21, 1830. The learned Dr. H. Ballou, 2d, in his Letters to Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., published in 1833, writes as follows, concerning this passage :

“ In closing this part of your subject, you quote two texts as positive proof of a general judgment in eternity, namely, Heb. 9 : 27, and John 5 : 28. The latter I have already examined. You recollect that one of your most distinguished Orthodox critics admits that it does not necessarily relate to your purpose. The former passage, quoted in full, reads thus : ‘ And as it is appointed unto men (it should be translated *the men*) once to die, but after this the judgment ; so Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many, and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation.’ You say not a word of the light thrown upon this passage by its context, though I think

The result to which Mr. Ballou came in regard to this matter, we think, had some effect upon him, to lead him to suspect that the doctrine of future punishment was not a matter of divine revelation at all. If this passage, which was one of the leading texts in proof of a judgment after death, had no reference to that subject whatsoever, might it not be possible, and even probable, that other passages, which had long been applied in the same manner, would be found, if carefully examined, equally inapplicable to that subject? Perhaps it was about that time that the first doubt came over him whether the passage concerning "the spirits in prison" was not misapplied when referred to the immortal state. It had become *perfectly clear* to him that Heb. 9: 27, 28 had *no reference whatsoever* to the common doctrine of a judgment in a future state. He thought, perhaps, that by a careful examination the same fact would be educed concerning the other passage. This, however, is to be regarded as merely a probable conjecture.

SECTION XV. — CONTROVERSY WITH FORRESTER.

In the latter part of 1812, or the beginning of 1813,

you are aware that Universalists have often pointed it out. Does not the tenor of the whole chapter, together with that of the succeeding, show that the death here mentioned was the figurative death of those men, the Jewish high priests, of whom the apostle had been treating? If this supposition is incorrect, why will you not meet it, and at least attempt to expose it? Or, if you will not condescend to this, take the passage on your own ground, and attempt to show me how a judgment in eternity, full of guilt and damnation, answers to Christ's appearing the second time without sin unto salvation; to which St. Paul certainly compared that judgment of which he was speaking."—See *Trumpet*, vol. vi. p. 41, Sept. 7, 1833.

Mr. Ballou found a new antagonist in one Rev. George Forrester, a teacher of the sciences in Portsmouth, and a preacher of the Calvinistic Baptist faith. Mr. F. was a vain and self-confident man, a foreigner, and had not been long in the country. He had published a book of Essays, in which he had endeavored to overthrow Universalism; but, not content with this, he came out with a pamphlet called "Strictures on Works entitled 'Treatise on Atonement,' and 'Notes on the Parables.'" He fell at once into a style of irony, severity and ridicule, which illy became him as almost a stranger in the land, and a professed minister of Christ. To this man and his publications Mr. Ballou would have been perfectly justified in giving no public notice whatever; but he was not a man who could stand and see God's truth denied and opposed, in a review of his own writings, and not utter a syllable. If Mr. Forrester were uncivil and unchristian, the consequences would be upon himself. The wrath of man shall praise the Lord; He will overrule it for good. Mr. Ballou, therefore, attempted with a "soft answer to turn away wrath,"* in a series of letters addressed to Mr. Forrester. This reply was written in an admirable spirit, as will be evinced by the concluding paragraph:

"Come, dear brother, let us reason together. 'Have we not

* The whole title was, "An Attempt with a Soft Answer to turn away Wrath; in Letters addressed to Mr. George Forrester, Calvinist Baptist Preacher, in his Reply to his 'Strictures on works entitled "Treatise on Atonement," "Notes and Illustrations of Parables."'" By Hosea Ballou, Pastor of the Universalist Church and Society in Portsmouth, N. H. 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Portsmouth, 1813.'"

all one Father! Hath not one God created us! Why do we deal treacherously, every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers!' It surely appears to me that you have not treated me as a brother; you have not written as if you realized that we have one Father, and that one God created us. But I do not complain on my own personal account; but it is matter of no little grief that one who professes the religion of the Saviour should dishonor that profession by such angry animadversions as appear in your Strictures. We cannot avoid a difference in opinion; nor do we discover any wisdom when we are disposed to censure and condemn one another for this unavoidable difference. Should we not appear much more like our Divine Master, if we should lay aside this censorious spirit and conduct, and exercise a humble and Christian-like forbearance towards each other! All denominations of Christians held to the propriety of maintaining the moral virtues; all teach the hope of life and immortality through Jesus Christ, our common Lord and undivided Saviour. Why, then, should we disesteem each other on account of those opinions wherein we think differently? Why should we not rather esteem each other, on account of our being agreed in so many important points in the religion of Christ? And, if we find that it is impossible for us to agree in all points with others, is it not a reasonable reflection, and what we ought duly to consider, that it is no easier for others to agree with us than for us to agree with them? As innocent as a garden of various fruits and flowers, Christians, with different views in many particulars, should grow from the same soil, warmed by the same sun of righteousness, and moistened with the gentle dews of the same Divine Spirit: so that, while diversified with a profitable variety, the whole may wear the beauty of harmony and agreement, and constitute one complete garden of delight. Then might we say, Let our beloved come into his garden and taste his pleasant fruit. Committing you and our readers to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build us up, and to give us an inheritance among all them who are sanctified, I bid this subject adieu, and remain, dear sir, your friend and humble servant, for Christ's sake."

Mr. Forrester replied, in a small pamphlet,* in which he acknowledged the amiability of Mr. Ballou as a man, although he professed to have no respect for him as a Christian. The impression left upon the public mind was, that Mr. F. had done the cause of religion no honor.

SECTION XVI. — DEAN'S INSTALLATION IN BOSTON.

On August 19, 1813, Rev. Paul Dean was installed in Boston as associate pastor with Rev. John Murray, at the First Universalist Church. Mr. D. received the fellowship of the General Convention of Universalists in 1805. Shortly after, he removed to the State of New York, and settled in Whitestown.† His labors in New York were productive of great good to the cause of Universalism. He worked diligently, and did not decline to meet the enemies of the truth face to face, in public discussion. In 1813 he removed,‡ and was installed on the day we have mentioned. At this service Mr. Murray was present, but was very feeble. The sermon upon

* The title was, "Remarks suggested by Mr. Ballou's late Publication. By George Forrester, teacher of Mathematics, Portsmouth, N. H."

† Stacy's Memoirs, p. 189. Smith's Hist. Sketches, vol. i. p. 27.

‡ The Convention voted, in September following, that "Having learned by the Ordaining Council of the dismissal of Br. Paul Dean from his connection and obligation to the societies in Whitestown, Madison and Fairfield, N. Y., and his engagement and reinstallation with and over the church and society in Boston, Mass.—

"Voted, That the Convention do approve of the doings of said Council thereon, and, in this way, express their decided approbation of the conduct of all parties in these transactions; being convinced that Br. Dean, and each of those societies, have acted with a view to the general good." — MS. Records.

the occasion was preached by Rev. Edward Turner, then of Salem; the Charge was given by Mr. Ballou, and the Fellowship of the Churches, by Rev. Richard Carrique, then of Charlton. In performing his part of these services, Mr. Ballou expressed his unqualified belief in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as he always, at proper times, took occasion to do. He said to the candidate :

“BROTHER: The ample testimony with which our blessed Saviour honored the writings of Moses and all the prophets is the highest possible commendation by which so considerable a portion of this book can claim our unreserved confidence, esteem and attention.

“The risen Saviour, who is the Urim and Thummim of prophecy, having opened the understanding of his doubting disciples, illuminated the same with a bright cloud of witnesses concerning himself, drawn from Moses, the prophets, and the psalms. These all testified of the coming, the suffering, the resurrection and glory, of the Captain of our salvation.

“That portion of these scriptures commonly called the New Testament contains a faithful and well-authenticated history of the manner in which the Son of God fulfilled his mission in our world; of his rising from the dead; of his giving infallible proofs of the same to witnesses before appointed; of his commissioning his disciples to officiate in the gospel ministry; and of his giving them power from on high to demonstrate their apostleship. It moreover contains a most valuable account of the faithful perseverance of the apostles in the stewardship to which they were appointed, their patient sufferings for the name and cause of Christ, and the glorious success which attended their ministry.

“In addition to the foregoing, it is enriched with inspired expositions and illustrations of the doctrines of the Scriptures in general; with epistles evidently written by the inspiration of God, and designed for the benevolent purpose of administering all needed instruction, patience, comfort and hope, to his children.

"These inspired writings 'are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' They contain the INVALUABLE, UNCONDITIONAL PROMISES OF ETERNAL LIFE, TO THE INNUMERABLE MULTITUDE 'OF ALL NATIONS, AND KINDREDS, AND PEOPLE, AND TONGUES,' UNDER HEAVEN, IN CHRIST, WHO IS THE COVENANT OF THE PEOPLE, 'ORDERED, AND IN ALL THINGS SURE.' They abound with proper encouragements to the workers of righteousness, and with rich and ample rewards to the faithful. They are likewise replete with truly awful denunciations, and examples of punishment for sin.

"The solemnity of presenting you with this sacred volume, on this important occasion, will make a very deep and sensible impression on your mind; as it signifies to you and to the world the faith and confidence which this church and congregation have in the Scriptures, and in you, as a chosen minister of Jesus Christ, who will faithfully administer to them the holy things they contain; and is, likewise, a solemn and public expression of your fixed and settled resolution, by the help of God, to perform this duty with fidelity."

Let this important passage be remembered by those who have, in an unguarded moment, represented Mr. Ballou as wanting faith in divine revelation.

SECTION XVII. — CONVENTIONS OF 1811, 1812, 1813.

Mr. Ballou, it is well known, was invariable in his attendance on the sessions of the General Convention of Universalists. We have seen that he commenced at the session in Oxford, in 1791, and we believe that for more than forty years he missed not a session. We have brought up the account of his attendance, on former pages, to the year 1810; and we propose here to speak of the sessions of 1811, 1812 and 1813. That of 1811

was holden in Lebanon, N. H., at which the venerable Thomas Barnes was elected moderator, and Mr. Ballou clerk. The latter preached the closing sermon, from that striking passage in the prophecy of Micah, 6 : 6—8. In 1812 the Convention met at Cavendish, Vt., when Father Barnes was again elected Moderator, and Mr. Ballou clerk. Rev. David Ballou preached one of the sermons, and Rev. Hosea Ballou again preached the closing sermon, appropriate to an ordination service (two brethren being ordained), from Eph. 3 : 8,—“That I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.” The body met in 1813 at Winchester, N. H., where its session had been holden just ten years before; and here again Mr. Ballou preached the last sermon, from the words of Jesus (John 12 : 32), —“And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.”*

* The Records of this year show that there were forty preachers in the fellowship of the Convention; namely,

District of Maine.

Thomas Barnes, Poland; Isaac Root, Turner; Samuel Baker, Thomaston.

New Hampshire.

Hosea Ballou, Portsmouth; Squire Streeter, Weare; Russell Streeter, Swansey; Timothy Bigelow and Loring Bigelow, Winchester; Zephaniah Lathe and David Pickering, Lebanon; Levi Sadler, Temple; Samuel C. Loveland, Gilsum.

Vermont.

Daniel Shaw, Bradford; Nathan Smith, Windsor; Cornelius G. Parsons, Andover; William Farewell, Barre; Nathan B. Johnson, Bridgeport; Samuel Hilliard, Cavendish.

Massachusetts.

John Murray, Paul Dean, both of Boston; Thomas Jones, Ezra Leonard, Gloucester; Edward Turner, Salem; Abner Kneeland, Charlestown; Richard Carrique, Charlton; Joshua Flagg, Dana; Sebastian Streeter, Haverhill; David Ballou, Rowe.

SECTION XVIII.—HIS LABORS AS A PASTOR.

During Mr. Ballou's residence in Portsmouth he was never idle. He attended to all the duties of the pastoral office with especial care; above all things, feeding the sheep and lambs of his flock with knowledge and understanding. He here aimed to give the highest proof of his love to Christ and divine truth. Jesus on one occasion, it will be remembered, said to his eminent apostle, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?" Peter replied, "Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee." Jesus then intimated to him the way in which he could best show his love, by saying, "Feed my lambs." Again the Master said, "Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me?" "Yea, Lord (said the confident disciple), thou knowest that I love thee." Jesus again intimated the proper manner in which he could show this love, by the direction, "Feed my sheep." Even a third time Jesus said to Simon, "Lovest thou me?" The disciple was grieved at the repetition of the question, and he replied, with increased animation,

Connecticut.

Solomon Glover, Newtown.

New York.

Caleb Rich, Hoosick; Nathaniel Stacy, Hamilton; Joshua Jones, Newport; Stephen R. Smith, Rome; Calvin Winslow, Butternut; William Baker, Columbus; Edwin Ferris, Jericho (now Bainbridge); James Parker, Benton; Jenkins Sherman, Manlius; James Gowdy, Western; Luscombe Knapp, Boyle.

Of these, but five or six were older in the ministry than Mr. Ballou. He had even at this time, at the age of forty-two, become one of the Fathers in the Universalist ministry.

"Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee." Again Jesus pointed out the way in which the disciple must show his love, by saying, "Feed my sheep."—John 21: 15—17. The true shepherd was not wholly devoted to his own welfare. He cared for the flock,—the sheep and the lambs. He desired that they might be fed; that they might be guided to green pastures, and beside the pure still waters, where everything was pleasant and serene, and where the most nourishing herbage would be found. Such was the desire of Mr. Ballou. He preached nothing but that which was profitable to his people. He desired to feed them with the "bread of life;" to quench their thirst with the "water of life," water like that of which Jesus spoke to the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob, John 4. In this way the pastor showed in the highest manner his love to the chief Shepherd. He fed the lambs of the fold; he fed the sheep of the flock. He reclaimed the wandering; he sought to guide all aright. He desired to have them all "nourished up in the words of faith and *good doctrine*." He taught them to "refuse profane and old wives' fables, and exercise themselves rather unto godliness." 1 Tim. 4: 6, 7. He taught them to pray according to the will of God. He urged them to live (as Paley says, at the end of his Natural Theology, men ought to live) "under a firm and settled persuasion that, living or dying, we are God's; that life is passed in his constant presence, and that death resigns us to his merciful disposal." He taught them to love virtue for virtue's sake; to abhor vice for what it is in itself; and, in the hope of another and better world, to pursue the terres-

trial journey, and pass through the valley of the shadow of death. Like Dryden's Good Parson,

"He warned the sinner with becoming zeal,
But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.
He taught the gospel rather than the law,
And forced himself to drive, but loved to draw.
For fear but freezes minds; but love, like heat,
Exhales the soul sublime, to seek her native seat.
To threats the stubborn sinner oft is hard,
Wrapt in his crimes, against the storm prepared;
But, when the milder beams of mercy play,
He melts, and throws his cumbrous cloak away.
Lightning and thunder (Heaven's artillery)
As harbingers before the Almighty fly.
Those but proclaim his style and disappear;
The stiller sound succeeds, and God is there."

We find another strong resemblance to Mr. Ballou, in Goldsmith's description of the village preacher:

"Thus, to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings leaned to virtue's side;
But, in his duty prompt, at every call,
He watched and wept, he prayed and felt, for *all*;
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reproved each dull delay,
Allured to brighter worlds, and led the way."

Thus Mr. Ballou pursued his work in Portsmouth; always faithful, affectionate and conscientious. He was, throughout his life, a believer in the sovereignty of God; he held that God overrules all things for good; that he permitted evil for wise and holy purposes; that nothing

can take place without his permission : but he also held that man has a duty to perform, for the faithful discharge of which he is accountable to God, and shall receive a suitable reward. He held to a full and adequate punishment of all sin. In his view, it was the will of God that man should feel he is free to act according to his own desires ; but in no such sense as to counteract, much less to defeat, the purpose of God. The doctrine which he believed had constantly a good effect upon him. He felt that he was a child of God ; he felt a childlike confidence in the divine goodness ; in his view God was at the helm, and would do all things well ; and, so far from finding in such views any encouragement to sin, he saw, on the contrary, the strongest reasons why he should love God, and seek to serve Him with humility, sincerity, and singleness of soul. In the discharge of such duties, and in the enjoyment of such sentiments, Mr. Ballou passed his time in Portsmouth ; a faithful pastor, a profitable preacher, a steadfast friend to all, and an enemy to none. If any, through the heat of political zeal, felt unkind to him, he aimed to look at them, in every possible degree, as though they were his friends ; he was not hasty to take knowledge of their enmity ; if they had any share of friendship to him, however small, he would be sure to enjoy what there was ; and, in this way, he mitigated the severity of the times.

SECTION XIX. — CONVENTION OF 1814.

Not neglecting his pastoral duties, he went often into the country to preach the gospel in destitute places,—

sometimes upon the Sabbath day (having made provision that his own people should not be neglected), sometimes upon the secular days. His aim, invariably, was to do all the good he could. He never neglected the meetings of the General Convention. These were seasons of great joy to him. At these gatherings he met his ministering brethren, whom he so deeply loved, and exchanged with them salutations of the sincerest friendship. They talked over their labors during the year; advised with each other in regard to their duties, or the wants of the cause, or the interpretation of the Scriptures. They heard each other preach,—a rare enjoyment. Nothing gave Mr. Ballou more pleasure than to listen to Rev. Edward Turner in these days, whose winning manner, soft and gentle tones, powerful arguments, apt illustrations, judicious treatment of abstruse questions, caused great satisfaction. These were happy, happy days. For twenty years, namely, from 1794 to 1814, Mr. Ballou enjoyed the friendship, confidence and fellowship, of Mr. Turner. At the session of the Convention for 1814, at Westmoreland, N. H., Mr. Turner was not present. The last sermon, as had by this time grown to be a custom, was reserved for Mr. Ballou. Sebastian Streeter, Richard Carrique, Joshua Flagg and Paul Dean, had preached. The ordination service remained to be performed,—it was the ordination of Rev. Samuel C. Loveland and Rev. Stephen R. Smith,—and it was appointed for the last afternoon. There was a great gathering of people, which continued to increase to the last service. Mr. Ballou chose for his text Rom. 1 : 14, 15. Samuel C. Loveland is still living; Stephen R. Smith died on Feb-

ruary 17, 1850. They both honored the gospel they espoused. The lamented Smith was one of the pioneers of our cause in the western section of New York ; a true man, possessed of great talents, a popular preacher, and a pillar and an ornament in the temple of the New Jerusalem.

SECTION XX.—DEATH OF REV. GEORGE RICHARDS.

To preserve the train of thought thus followed out, we have passed by an event which occurred in the beginning of 1814 ;—this was the death of Rev. George Richards, at Philadelphia, who, it will be remembered, had been the predecessor of Mr. Ballou at Portsmouth. George Richards was a man of keen sensibility, and, of course, subject to great vicissitudes of feeling. The death of his amiable companion almost prostrated him ; and to this another source of sorrow was added, namely, a division in the society at Philadelphia. He had not sufficient power to bear himself up in the midst of these afflictions. While reason continued, he called to his aid the consolations he had preached to others. He had alternate seasons of sunshine and shade ; but at last total darkness set in. He was carried to the Pennsylvania hospital, where it became necessary to watch him narrowly ; but, alas ! in a moment when he was left alone, the fatal deed was done. He had sincere and ardent friends in Philadelphia, who mourned deeply at his death ; and the society to whom he had ministered, who had always regarded him as a very sincere and honorable man, deeply lamented the sorrows he had suffered. Sacred be the scene ! It was

not the act of Richards; *he* was not there; the mind, which is the man, was gone; all that made him a man had fled away; nothing but the wreck was left.

When the melancholy tidings reached Portsmouth, it deeply affected Mr. Ballou and his society. On the 4th Sabbath in March, 1814, he delivered a sermon in respect to the event. The text chosen was appropriate (Isaiah 53: 3),—"A man of sorrows and acquainted with grief." It was in this trait, said Mr. Ballou in the commencement, that Mr. Richards most nearly resembled his Divine Master: he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief. In many other particulars he resembled him, but in none more than this.

The subjects of the sermon were arranged as follows:

1st. The preacher considered the causes of that sorrow and grief which the Saviour of the world constantly experienced in the days of his flesh.

2d. He noticed, generally, the same subject, relative to the faithful minister of the gospel. And,

3d. He spoke particularly in regard to the life of the dear departed, whose earthly sorrows and sufferings were finished, and to whose memory the feeling hearts of the congregation were ready to offer the frankincense of pity, sympathy and love.

In sketching the character of the man, Mr. Ballou said:

"Rev. George Richards was greatly distinguished from men in general, by the peculiarity of his natural constitution. Very few are endowed with natural abilities which could compare with his; but the particular quality of his mind which contributed to expose him to an uncommon share of sorrow and grief was an

acuteness of sensibility, in which, perhaps, he was never exceeded. This sensibility, improved by the benign operations of the doctrine of the Redeemer, which so powerfully inclines its disciples to be tender-hearted, kind and pitiful, caused him to feel, in a very sensible manner, the afflictions of the afflicted; not only those who were denominated of his particular belief, or belonged to his parish; but, like the divine mercy in which he believed, and which he preached, his compassions extended to all the sons and daughters of distress within the compass of his knowledge.

“He pitied the mendicity of the poor, and his ear was never deaf to the calls of charity. Limited in his personal means to relieve the distressed, the last shilling was either divided or wholly given; nor could he persuade himself to think this the end of his duty, but frequently assumed the petition for charity, and successfully solicited alms for those whose wants were beyond his ability to relieve. His concern for the needy led him to seek them out, and their obscure dwellings often rejoiced at the approach of his hasty feet.

“The sick were all of his family; as the husband pities the wife of his bosom, or the father the son or daughter in sickness, so that kind heart, of acute sensibility, drank the cup of sympathy and sorrow in chambers of sickness. In this section of his labors of love, the performance of usual solemnities, in which his gifts were angelic, was but a part; he was nurse and physician. His acquaintance with the nature of disorders, and likewise of their usual remedies, together with his watchful care for the sick, rendered him of incalculable service. So great was his anxiety for the sick, that the most dangerous, the most contagious disorders, were never known to deter him from paying his usual attention to the patient.

“In the house of mourning he was always a mourner; the grief of others was his own. Here he taught the living to hope for the dead, and to mingle joy with their sorrows, in prospect of future glory.

“In his performance of the public exercises of the sanctuary, the observing worshippers were made acquainted with the ardent zeal of their minister for the cause of his Divine Master, his great